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COLLECTED WORKS

OF

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR

VOL. III

COMPRISING EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN AND MISCELLANEOUS HISTORICAL ESSAYS

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PREFATORY NOTE

This is the first volume of the collected works of the late Sir R. G Bhandarkar to be published, though it is the third in the series of the four volumes over which his works extend This is because the printing of the first volume, which began towards the middle of 1924, came to be interrupted by reasons beyond the control of the Bhandarkar Institute

The second volume is now completely printed and it extends to 640 pages. With the necessary Indexes added, that volume too should, in the ordinary course of things, appear within the next two months. The fourth volume is also in press, and one part of it, namely, Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c , is more than half printed, and there is no reason why that part also should not be published before the present year is out The first volume contains, generally speaking, all of the author's literary writings; the second, practically the whole of the literay part of his Reports on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, and his Socio-literary writings, including some characteristic writings of a religio-philosophic nature The present volume, the third in order, contains his Early History of the Deccan and his other historical and inscriptional essays. The fourth volume, besides Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c. includes his Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages derived therefrom

It may be added that the general outlines of the four volumes (with regard to their contents, arrangement, &c) were settled in close consultation with Sir R G Bhandarkar himself As a matter of fact, the idea of a complete edition of his writings was one of the chief tasks to which the management of the Institute devoted its close and early attention, and was steadily worked out in its initial stages with constant reference to the venerable scholar himself. It must be a matter of deep regret to the management of the Institute, as it undoubtedly is to the present writer, that it did not become possible for the author himself to see a part at least of

this edition published. I still vividly realise the glow of satisfaction and the sense of grateful appreciation that would at times come over the venerable face of Sir R G Bhandarkar, when it became necessary for us all to consult him on any point connected with his works

It would be seen that what this Edition contains is practically a mere reprint of the writings as they issued from his hands. It would be presumptuous to say that they are here edited; at the same time, it is evident that some of his writings and statements need to be supplemented in the light of later advance in studies. I have not ventured on anything of that kind here. to me at least, the time would come after all the four volumes are published.

The preliminary matter and the Indexes etc are, of course, made by me for this volume

A word of thankful acknowledgement is due to G N Shrigondekar, Esqr., B. A, of the Bhandarkar Institute, and Mr. Joglekar, the Head Compositor and his Staff, for the labour and care they have bestowed on this volume. The work is printed at the Institute's own Press, newly started under the fostering care of Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, and, despite the occurrence of a few misprints, the staff is to be congratulated on having successfully and speedily produced this volume, which was amongst its earliest undertakings.

Deccan College, Poona
Ṛsipañcamī, Śake 1849
(1st September 1927)

N B. UTGIKAR

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EARLY

HISTORY OF THE DECCAN

DOWN TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST

INTRODUCTORY.

INDIA has no written history Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little

(I) We have a chronicle of Kashmir called the Rājataraṅginī, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories, and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered, and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century The literature of the Jainas of the Śvetāmbara sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujarat and other noted personages There are also similar accounts of the princes of Rajaputana In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given; and sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors Lastly, the Purānas contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families, which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto

(II) But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre, and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information, to which we shall now proceed The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus, and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purānas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification, and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events In this manner, the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Candragupta has been determined to be about 322 B C, and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history Buddhism was introduced in China in the first century of the Christian era; and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims, and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available

(III) Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of Inscriptions Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor The

names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find must be regarded simply as meaningless But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harṣavardhana by Pulakes'i II of the early Cālukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical; and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hwhan Thsang does that of Pulakes'i's exploit Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical, though, however, legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results

The stone-inscriptions are intended to commemorate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals, but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the the date in the current era When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep, but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the " Indian Antiquary " and the institution of the Archæological Survey These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages

(IV) I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates A study of these too has led to very important results

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned; and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Aryan settlement of the Deccan The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are as follows:

(I)—Bilhana's Vikramānkacarita, Introduction to the Vratakhaṇḍa, Introduction to Jahlana's anthology, Puranic genealogies, and scattered notices in the Kathāsaritsāgara, Hāl's Saptas'atī, Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, Kavirahasya, Digambara Jaina works—such as the Harivams'a, the Uttara Purāna, the Yas'astilaka, the Pras'nottararatnamālikā &c, Vijñānes'vara's Mitāksarā, the Abhilasitārthacintāmani, the Basava Purāna the Lekhapañcās'ikā, the S'abdārṇavacandrikā, the Jñānes'varī, and a few others

(II)—Ptolemy's Geography, the Periplus, Hwhan Thsang's Itinerary

(III)—Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India, Rudradāman's inscription at Junagad, stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country, copperplate charters of the early Cālukyas, the Rāstrakūtas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number

(IV)—Coins of the S'ātavāhanas found at Kolhapur and in the lower Godavari district

Since the the political history of the Deccan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance, will, it is hoped, be excused This does not pretend to be a literary production, but merely a congeries of facts

SECTION I

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "DECCAN" AND ITS DENOTATION.

THE word " Dakkhan " represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Daksina, meaning " southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadā The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Daksināpatha or " the Southern Region " That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the Periplus calls that portion of the country Dakhinabades [1] In the vernacular or Prakrit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Daksināpatha must have become Dakkhinābadha or Dakkhināvadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,[2] in the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Daksina

Daksināpatha or Daksina was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadā Among the countries enumerated in the Mārkandeya,[3] Vāyu,[4] and Mātsya[5] Purānas, as comprised in Daksināpatha, are those of the Colas, Pāndyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabar In the Mahābhārata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pāndu princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Daksināpatha after having

1 Indian Antiquary, VIII 143.

2 Travels of Fah- Hian by S Beal, 139

3 Chap 57, Verse 45, Bibliotheca Indica Edition The reading of the second line, however, is wrong It ought to be, Pāndyās' ca Keralās' caiva Colāh Kulyās tathaiva ca, as it is in the manuscript, I have consulted.

4 Chap. 45, Verse 124, Bibliotheca Indica Edition.

5 Chap 112, Verse 46 Poona Lithographed Edition

conquered the king of the Pāndyas[1] This would show that the country of the Pāndyas was not included in Daksināpatha. Again the rivers Godāvarī and others springing from the Sahyādri, are spoken of in the Vāyu Purāna as rivers of Daksināpatha,[2] while the Narmadā and the Tāpī are not so styled; whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Daksināpatha The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadā on the north and a variable line along the course of the Krsnā to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east It is thus almost identical with the country called Mahārāstra or the region in which the Marathi language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghāts and the sea being excluded A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadā and the Tāpī, and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vāyu Purāna Thus the word Deccan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvarī and that lying between that river and the Krsnā The name Mahārāstra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract For that country is, in the Purāns[3] and other works, distinguished on the one hand from Aparānta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadā and the Tāpī inhabited by the Pulindas and Śabaras as well as from Vidarbha on the other In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakos'a,[4] Mahārāstra Vaidarbha, Tāpī-tata-des'a and the Narmadā-tata-des'a (*i e*, the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkana are spoken of as distinct from each other The Deccan or Mahārāstra in this—the narrowest—sense of the word forms the subject of the present Notice

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1 Sabhāparvan, Chap 31, Verse 17, Bombay Edition.

2 Chap 45, Verse 104, Bib Ind Ed

3 See the chapters of the three Purānas referred to in the preceding notes, on page 5

4 Prof Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352.

SECTION II

SETTLEMENT OF THE ĀRYAS IN THE DECCAN

IT is now a recognised fact that the Āryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjab Thence they emigrated to the east, and for a time, the easternmost province occupied by them was Brahmāvarta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvatī, the modern Sarasuti, and Dṛṣadvatī,[1] a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements For, the name Āryāvarta or the region occupied by the Āryas, as explained by Manu[2] and even by Patañjali,[3] the author of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them The name Pāriyātra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range, from which the rivers Chambal and Betva take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yātrā or range of communication After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an As'rama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements The first or oldest Aryan province in the southern country must have been the Vidarbhas or the Berars For in the Rāmāyana when Sugrīva, the monkey-king, sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Rāma's wife Sītā and Rāvana, her ravisher, directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Ṛcīkas, and

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1 Manu, II. 17.

2 Manu, II 23.

3 Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇini, II. 4. 10.

Mahisakas, and also to Dandakāranya (the forest of Dandakā) and the river Godāvarī[1] This shows that while the country about the Godāvarī, that is, the Deccan or Mahārāstra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country In the Mahābhārata also, Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman, demanded her of the king in marriage[2] In the Rāmāyana, Rāma is represented to have lived for a long time in Dandakāranya, at a place called Pañcavatī situated on the banks of the Godāvarī about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya[3] That this Dandakāranya was the modern Mahārāstra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godāvarī, and by several others According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brahmans in Mahārāstra do not utter the name Mahārāstra but Dandakāranya with the word des'a or "country" attached to it In the introduction to Hemādri's Vratakhanda, a a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Dandakāranya Nasik claims to be the Pañcavatī where Rāma lived But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nasik The river Godāvarī must, from the description occurring in the Rāmāyana as well as in Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāmacarita, have been wide at Rāma's Pañcavatī. It could hardly have been so at Nasik, which is very near its source On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyādri through which flowed the river Godāvarī and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purānas represented as "the most charming on earth, and there, to please Rāma, the sage Bhāradvāja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and

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1 Rāmāyaṇa, IV Chap 41, Bombay Edition

2 Mahābhārata, Bombay Edition, III. Chap. 96, and 97.

3 Rāmāyaṇa, III. 13, 13, Bom. Ed.

thus a lovely garden came into existence "[1] In the Mārkandeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town, but the Vāyu and the Mātsya seem to mean it to be a mountain. This Govardhana must from the given position, be the same as the village of the name near Nasik; and thus the three Purānas must be understood as supporting the identification of Pañcavatī with Nasik

But though Mahārāstra was the last country occupied by the Indian Āryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern countries Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles, and incorporated the rest into their own society The present Marathi language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of Northern India The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Mahārāstrī, the S'aurasenī, and the Māgadhī, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pāli—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spokon throghout its history by the same race For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prakrit dialects, as they are called This long-continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects Such, however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Āryas, and thus the Prakrit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prakrits, and these point to the

1 Mārkaṇḍeya, Chap 57, Verses 34 35, Vāyu, Chap. 45, Verses 112 114, and Mātsya, Chap 112, Verses 37-39 The passage, however, is corrupt The three Purāṇas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the Vāyu

same conclusion. It thus appears that the Indian Āryas in their progress through the country, came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated with their society and learnt their language, at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities.[1] This was the state of things in the North down to the Maratha country. But farther South and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races, inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their civilization. On the contrary, the Āryas had to learn the languages peculiar of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization. Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India, are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that Southern Art is so different from the Northern. The reason why the result of the Āryan irruption, was so different in Southern India from what it was in the North, appears to be that when the Āryas penetrated to the South, there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms. In the passage in the Rāmāyana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Āndhras (Telugu people), the Pāndyas, the Colas, and the Keralas, in the South, and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pāndyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter. In the North, however, at the time of the Āryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Dandakāranya, which is represented in the Rāmāyana as a forest infested by Rāksasas or wild tribes, who disturbed the religious rites of the Brahman sages. And throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Āryas were gradually progressing from the Panjab, the wild tribes they met with, are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Rāksasas, and others.

1 These points I have developed in my Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages pp. 46 f. (Edition of 1914).

SECTION III

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE ĀRYAN SETTLEMENT IN THE DECCAN AND NOTICES OF SOUTHERN INDIA IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE AND INSCRIPTIONS

WE will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Āryas settled in Dandakāranya, and trace the relations between the civilized Āryan community of the North and the Southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well-known dates in Indian history In the Aitareya Brāhmana, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called Classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Visvāmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Āryan settlements, and these, it is said "were the Āndhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, and the descendants of Visvāmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus [1]" Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the South, the Pundras in the Rāmāyana, and the other three in the Purānas [2] From the later literature, the Pulindas and S'abaras appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhyas Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadā The Āndhras, who in these days are identified with Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godāvarī or perhaps farther to the north If these were the positions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmana, the Indian Āryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range

Pānini in his Sūtras or grammatical rules, shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjab and Afghanistan; but the names of countries situated in the eastern

1 Aitareya Brāhmana, VII 18 Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śānkhāyana Sūtra

2 See the Purānic passages above referred to

3 In his Kādambarī, Bāna places the Śabaras in the forest on the Vindhya range.

portion of Northern India also occur in the Sūtras. The countries farthest to the South mentioned by him are Kaccha (IV 2 133), Avantī (IV 1 176), Kosala (IV 1 171), Karūsa (IV 1. 178)[1] and Kalinga (IV 1 178)[2] The first is the same as the modern country of that name, Avantī is the district about Ujjayinī, and Kalinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars Kosala Karūsa, and Avantī are mentioned in the Purānas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya [3] In the Ratnāvalī, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther South in Pānini's work, is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the North that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Āryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya but did proceed

1 This name does not occur in the Sūtra, but is the second in the list or Gaṇa beginning with Bharga As regards the words occurring in these Ganas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gana to Pānini (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times) still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his This was objected to by Professor Weber But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view I may, however, here state that since Pānini refers to these Ganas in his Sūtras by using the first word in the list with ādi, equivalent to "and others" added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more This observation is meant to be applicable generally In the present case, however, the expression Bhargādi forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, thought it is clearly implied

2 In the so-called Pāninīya Śiksa, the expression Saurāstrikā nārī or 'a woman of Surāstra" occurs But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pānini was acquainted with Surāstra The Pāninīya Śikṣā cannot be the work of Panini, for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain Śiksā according to the views of Pāṇini, and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian Besides, the author notices the Prakrit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Panini's great work, and writes in verse Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sūtras The Pāninīya Śiksā therefore must have been composed long after Panini

3 See the Purānic passages cited above.

or communicate with the northern-most portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course

Kātyāyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vārtikas is to explain and supplement Pāṇini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations Pāṇini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country" Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pancālas, or the king of the country Pañcālas, is to be called Pāñcāla; a descendant of a Sālva, or the king of the country of the Sālvas, is to be called Sālveya, &c Kātyāyana notices here an omission; the name Pāndya is not explained by Pāṇini Kātyāyana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of Pāndus or the king of their country, should be called a Pāndya [1]" Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that in either of these senses, no termination should be appended to the word Kambojas, which was the name of a non-Āryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed, but that the word Kamboja itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas [2]" Kātyāyana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word Kambojas, for the rule applies also to the names "Colas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Cola and other tribes, and the kings of the Cola and other countries should be called by the names "Cola and others" Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Nadvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies, Nadas or reeds, and Vetas or canes, respectively [3] Kātyāyana adds, "Mahismat is so called because it contains Mahisas or buffaloes"

Now Mahismat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purānas is associated with Mahārāstra and is called Mahisakas Māhismatī on the banks of the Narmadā was probably

1 Pandor dyan, which is a Vartika on Pāṇini, IV 1 168

2 Pāṇini IV 1 175

3 Pāṇini, IV. 2 87

its capital Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstucker has done in many similar cases, that had Pānini known the Pāndyas, Colas, and Mahismat, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above, that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sūtras Thus then, the Āryas of the North were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pānini, but were so in the time of Kātyāyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nāsikya,[1] which is very likely the same as our modern Nasik

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the South As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the South, and tells us that in Daksināpatha the word 'sarasī' is used to denote large lakes[2] He mentions Māhismatī,[3] Vaidarbha,[4] Kāñcīpura[5] the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala[6] or Malabar Patañjali's date, B C 150, may now be relied upon That author notices variant readings of Kātyāyana's Vārtikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhāradvājīyas, Saunāgas, and others Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vārtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb pathanti, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ In this manner the interval between Kātyāyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years Now Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pānini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pānini's time I have followed up the argument

1 In a Vārtika on Pānini VI I 63
2 Mahābhāsya on Pānini, I 1 19
3 Under Pānini, III 1 26
4 IV 1 Fourth Āhnika
5 IV 2 Second Āhnika
6 IV 1 Fourth Āhnika.

in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages," [1] and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz, either that Pānini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahābhāsya that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Pānini as found in the Bhāsā or current language, not the Chāndasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be usd instead [2] Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pānini in his Sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pānini's time but was known to Kātyāyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pānini and Kātyāyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pānini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pānini No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these *circumstances* Pānini, therefore, must have *flourished* in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still, and against this conclusion, I believe no argument has been or can be brought except a vague prejudice —And now to our point —The Indian Āryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ, they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no farther, and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalinga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berar, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route, but in the course of some time more, they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Dandakāranya along the banks of the Godāvarī, that is, in

1 Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit &c pp 28 f.

2 Ibid, pp 21 ff

Mahārāstra or the Deccan Before B C 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Madura

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe Though a Mahābhārata existed before Pānini and Āśvalāyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time, and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times The text of the Rāmāyana also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it Still the Bengali recension of the poem like the Bengali recensions of more recent works does contain additions The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the South is more reliable; and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side, still there is hardly any material difference But the date of the Rāmāyana is uncertain ; the present Hindu belief based on the Purānas is that Rāma's incarnation is older then Krsna's, and consequently the Rāmāyana older than the Mahābhārata, but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vāsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhisthira in Pānini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahābhārata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rāma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians Even a much later author, Amarasimha the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Visnu, gives a good many names derived from the Krsna incarnation; but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadra, the brother of Krsna, is mentioned Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Deccan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāndyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas, and Āndhras [1] and also to have visited Kiskindhā which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampā lake or river, where Rāma met Sugrīva the monkey chief, though the country

1 Sabhāparvan, Chap. 31 (Bombay Edition).

Kiskindhā is placed by the Purānas among those near the Vindhyas He went also to Śūrparāka, the modern Supara near Bassein, to Dandaka, the same as Dandakāranya but not mentioned as a forest, to Karahātaka, the modern Karhad on the confluence of the Krsnā and the Koinā, and to others The countries mentioned in the passage in the Rāmāyana, alluded to above, as lying to the South are Utkala, (probably the modern Ganjam), Kalinga, Daśārna, Avantī Vidarbha, and others The district near Bhilsā must have been called Daśārna in ancient times; for its capital was Vidiśā, which was situated, as stated by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta, on the Vetravatī or Betva, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsa. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya, or nearly in the same line with it farther east But between these and the southernmost countries of the Colas, Pāndyas, and Keralas, the Rāmāyana mentions no other place or country but Dandakāranya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Āryan settlements in the Deccan, while that represented by the Mahābhārata in the place indicated, seems subsequent, and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Rāmāyana is the older of the two epics The name Mahārāstra does not occur in either of them

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty, reigning at Pātaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnar in Kathiavad on the west, at Dhauli in Katak, and Jaugad in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himālaya, at Shahbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and at Mansehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion to the Rāstikas and the Petenikas and to the Aparāntas [1] The

1 ये चाप्यन्ये ऽपरान्ता is the Sanskrit of the original Prakrit. It might be translated as "and also those other called Aparāntas," i e. also that other country called Aparānta If we take it in this way, Aparānta is clearly Northern Konkaṇa, for that is the name of that part of the country found in Sanskrit and Pali Literature from the remotest times In the Mahāvamśa and Dīpavamśa quoted below, Mahārāstra is associated with Aparāntaka. It is possible to translate it as "and also other western countries" as M. Senart does But the word "other" certainly refers to Rāstika-Petenikanam and not to the preceding Yonam Kambojam &c., as he takes it, so as to make these last also western countries. (Inscriptions of Aśoka, Vol. II., p 84).

last which we know best is Northern Konkana, the capital of which was Sūrparaka Petenikas is not unlikely the same as Paithanakas, i e, the people or country about Paithana on the Godāvari The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratisthāna, was in those days, as it now is, Pethana or Paithana, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call it Paithana or Baithana The Rāstikas, or, according to the Mansehra version, Ratrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāstrikas, were very likely the people of Mahārāstra, for a tribe of the name of Rattas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan One branch of it assumed the name of Rāstrakūtas and governed the country before the Cālukyas acquired power It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Cālukyas again after some time In later times, chieftains of the name of Rattas governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum district In the thirteenth Edict, in which the countries where Asoka's moral Edicts were respected are enumerated, the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Rāstikas Bhojas, we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar[1] and also in other parts of the Deccan In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuda,[2] the name " Mahābhoja " or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Bedsa Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhojas, the Rāstrikas, Rattis, Ratthis, or Ratthas called themselves Mahāratthis or Mahāratthas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived, came to be called Mahārattha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahārāstra In the second and the thirteenth Edicts, the countries of the Colas, Pāndyas, Ketalaputras (Cera or Kerala), and the Āndhras and Pulindas are mentioned Thus about a hundred years before Patañjali, the whole of the Southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the North, and the Deccan or Mahārāstra had regular kingdoms governed by Rattas and Bhojas

1 In the Daśakumāracarita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

2 Kuda inscriptions, Nos 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Bedsa No. 2, Archæological Survey of Western India, No 10.

In the Mahāvamso, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dīpavamso, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggaliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation, said to have been held in the time of Aśoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahārattha, Aparāntaka, and Vanavāsī[1] Whether the name Mahārattha or Mahārāstra had come into use in the time of Aśoka, does not appear clear from this; but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era, admits of little doubt In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhaja, Bedsa, and Karli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Mahārathi and the female Mahārathinī, which names, as observed before, correspond to Mahābhoja and Mahābhojī, and signify the great Rathi (man and woman)[2] Similarly, in the large cave at Nanaghat a Mahārathi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prakrits the principal one was called Mahārāstrī, because we are told it was the language of Mahārāstra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled Setubandha attributed to Kālidāsa and mentioned by Dandin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Śālivāhana It is the language of Prakrit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays Its grammar we have in Vararuci's Prākrta-Prakāsa, but the date of this author is uncertain, though there is reason to believe that he was one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya and was thus a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa Though the date of Kālidāsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined,

1 Mahāvamso, Turnour's Ed, pp 71 and 72, and Dipavamso, Oldenberg's Ed., p. 54. The latter, however, omits Vanavāsī

2 Archæological Survey of Western India, No 10, Bhaja, No. 2, Bedsa No. 2, Karli Nos 2 and 14 Pandit Bhagvanlal appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Mahārathi to be equal to the Sk Mahārathi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Bedsa No 2, a woman is called Mahārathinī where the word certainly cannot mean a great warrior, and to interpret it as "the wife or daughter of a great warrior" is simply begging the question Mahārathi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and is the same as our modern Marāthā It will appear from this inscription that there were intermarriages between the Mahābhojas and the Mahārathis, for the lady mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mahābhoja, and a Mahārathinī or the wife of a Mahārathi

still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bāna in his Harsacarita, in the North,[1] and in an inscription at Aihole[2] dated 556 Śaka, in the South A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country; perhaps it is too short. Kālidāsa may, therefore, be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr. Kern in the first half of the sixth century[3] The Mahārāstrī dialect, therefore, in which Kālidāsa wrote the Setubandha and the Prakrit verses in his plays, must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier, and also called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature Varāhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahārāstra as a Southern country; and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above, Mahārāstra is mentioned as comprising three countries and ninty-nine thousand villages Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Cālukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahārāstra The occurrence of the name of Mahārāstra in the Purāņas has already been noticed[4]

1 Dr Hall's Vāsava dattā, Preface, p 14

2 Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 243

3 Edition of Varāhamihira, Preface, p 20

4 Ante, page 6

SECTION IV

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DECCAN OR MAHĀRĀSTRA ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA

No clue to the political history of Mahārāstra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available The Purānas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great, but clear traces of their occupation of the South have not yet been found Candragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B C 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kathiavad, and his grandson Aśoka, who reigned from B C 263 to B C 229 retained possession of the province[1] The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kathiavad in the west But stray Edicts have been discovered farther south, a fragment of the eighth being found at Supara and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysore In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries", and mentions Cola, Pāndya, Ketalaputta, and Satiyaputta down to Tambapanni or Ceylon as outlying provinces These, therefore, did not own his sway But in the fifth Edict he mentions the Rāstikas, Petenikas and Aparāntas and a few more provinces as those for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named Again, he includes most of these in the thirteenth Edict, among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Cola, Pāndya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes It would thus appear that though the countries of the Rāstikas Bhojas, Petenikas, and Aparantas were not outlying provinces like

1 See the Inscription of Rudradāman Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 260, line 8.

those of the Colas, the Pāndyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence, and only owned allegiance to him as suzerain The appearance of fragments of his Inscriptions at Supara and on the confines of Mysore is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supara on the Western coast, and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysore, leaving the western countries of the Rāstikas, the Bhojas, and Petenikas, and the southern coast, in a state of semi-independence And there is some positive evidence to that effect Vidarbha, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time For in the dramatic play of Mālavikāgnimitra, the political events narrated in which, may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra—the son of Pusyamitra, the first king of the Sunga dynasty, who reigned in the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidisā, which I have before identified with Bhilsā, probably as his father's viceroy He had made proposals of marriage with Mālavikā to her brother Mādhavasena, the cousin of Yajñasena, king of Vidarbha Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne When Mādhavasena was secretly on his way to Vidisā, the general of Yajñasena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him His counsellor, Sumati, and Mâlavikâ escaped, but Mādhavasena was kept in custody Thereupon Agnimitra demanded of Yajñasena the surrender of Mādhavasena Yajñasena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Maurya king and had been imprisoned by Agnimitra, or his father Pusyamitra, should be released This enraged Agnimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajñasena and vanquished him Mādhavasena was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Varadā.

Paithan also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time In the Incriptions in the caves at Pitalkhora near Chalisgaon, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved, must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratisthāna are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his

son and daughter[1] The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratisthāna or Paithan No more particular information is available On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the Inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top of Sahyādri throw a good deal of light I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the Inscriptions in the chronological order, clearly determined by the forms of the characters

An Inscription[2] in a small cave at Nasik mentions that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nasik of king Krsna of the Śātavāhana race In a cave at Nanaghat there is another, which is much mutilated, and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear In that same cave, figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them 1, Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano, *i e*, King Simuka Śātavāhana; 2, Devī Nāyanikāyā rañño ca Siri Sātakanino, *i e*, of Queen Nāyanikā and King Śrī Śātakarni ; 3, Kumāro Bhāyā, *i e*, Prince Bhāyā; 4, Mahārathiganakayiro, *i e*, the heroic Marāthā leader or the hero of the Marāthā tribe, 5, Kumāro Haku Siri, *i e*, Prince Haku Śrī, 6, Kumāro Sātavāhano, *i e*, Prince S'ātavāhana Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen, must have been the reigning prince ; the first was an earlier king of the same dynasty, the fourth was a local Maratha warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Sātavāhana dynasty

In another Nasik cave there are four Inscriptions In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Trirasmi in Govardhana or the Nasik District by the benevolent Usavadāta, the son-in-law of king Ksaharāta Nahapāna and son of Dinika Usavadāta gave away three hundred thousand cows; constructed flights of steps on the river Bārnāsāyā; assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmanas, fed a hundred thousand Brāhmanas every year, got eight Brāhmanas at Prabhāsa or Somanath-Pattana married at his own expense, constructed quadrangles, houses and halting places at Bharukaccha or Bharoch, Dasapura in Malva, Govardhana, and Śorpāraga, the modern Supara near Bassein;

1 Arch Surv West Ind, No 10 Incriptions, pp 39, 41

2 JBBRAS., Vol. VII, No 6, Nasik Inscriptions, and Transactions, Oriental Congress, 1874, p 338.

made gardens and sank wells and tanks; placed ferry-boats over the Ibā, Pārādā, Damanā, Tāpī, Karabenā and Dāhanukā, which were rivers along the coast between Thana and Surat; constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers; and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nānamgola, for the Caranas and Parisads (Vedic schools of Brāhmanas) in Pinditakāvada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Sorpāraga, and Rāmatīrtha One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Ksatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mālayas At the sound of his martial music, the Mālayas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras Thence he went to Poskarāni and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village [1]

In the second Inscription, Usavadāta is spoken of as having in the year 42 dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Kārsāpanas at an annual interest of one hundred Kārsāpanas Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery With another guild he deposited one thousand Kārsāpanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kārsāpanas Out of this, other things (Kusana) were to be provided for the priests The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and inscribed on the door of the monastery In the years 41 and 40, he gave away a large sum of money[2] for gods and Brāhmanas. The third Inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Usavadāta's wife, Dakhamitrā [3] The fourth is greatly mutilated, but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Usavadāta's[4]. In the cave-temple of Karli there is an Inscription

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, Nasik Inscriptions, No 17, and Transactions, Oriental Congress, 1874, p 326.

2 JBBRAS., Nos 18 and 16, which together form one inscription.

3 *Ibid*, First part of No 16.

4 *Ibid*, No. 14.

in which Usavadāta is represented to have granted the village of Karjika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valūraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time[1] There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nasik Inscriptions In an Inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapāna, the great Ksatrapa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed[2] The minister appears to have been a Brāhmana, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra

Next in order come the Inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamīputra Sātakarni and Pulumāyi are mentioned In the longest of the four, occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nasik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Pulumayi, the son of Vāsisthi, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyaniya sect by Gotami, the mother of king Sātakarni Gotamīputra She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grand-mother of the great king" Gotamīputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Asika, Aśmaka, Mulaka, Surāstra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Akaravanti[4] He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyavat, Pāriyatra, Sahya, Krsnagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Sresthagiri, and Cakora His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, viz, duty, worldly prosperity,

1 Archæological Survey of Western India, No 10, No 13, Kārli Inscriptions.

2 Ibid, No 25, Junnar Inscriptions

2 Aśmaka and Mulaka are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purāṇas

4 Surāstra is Southern Kathiavad Kukura, a portion of Rajputana, and Aparānta, Northern Konkan Anūpa is mentioned in the Purāṇas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhyas It was the country on the upper Narmada with Māhismati for its capital, according to the Raghuvamsa Akaravanti must be the eastern portion of Malva

and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brāhmanas He conferred upon Brāhmanas the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes His exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Kesava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhāga, Nahusa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarīsa He was descended from a long line of kings He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Ksatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagārāta, and re-established the glory of the Sātavāhana family In the last line of the Incription, mention is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple.[1]

In a latter Inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vāsisthīputra Srī Pulumavi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to Sarvāksadalana, his lieutenant in Govardhana He calls his attention to the fact that the village, granted by the " lord of Dhanakata "[2] (Gotamīputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrāyanīyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another Inscription It purports to be an order or notice issued from the

1 JBBRAS, Vol VII, Inscription No. 26, and Trans. Or Congr 1874, p 307.

2 Paṇḍit Bhagvanlal and Dr Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nasik Inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression, thus understood by me, as धनकटसमनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटश्रमणे But what the Śramanas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakaṭa, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Krsnā, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nasik to the Bhadrāyaṇīya mendicants of the place, it is impossible to conceive The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिभि or धनकटसामियेहि, corresponding to महासामियेहि in the first part of No 25, the Sanskrit of which is महास्वामिकं. The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as अत्तनेहि for आत्मभि and राजानेहि for राजभि.

camp of the victorious army of Govardhana, by Gotamīputra Śātakarni, lord of Dhanakataka, to Visnupālita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was upto that time in the possession of one Usabhadāta, for the benefit of recluses The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that, in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated Below this, is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamīputra Śātakarni, who is also called the royal mother She therein speaks of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred by this charter, out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only; hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field The date of this grant is 24, i e, it was made six years after the first [1]

Besides these, there are two Inscriptions at Nasik[2] recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh years of the reign of Siri (Srī) Pulumāyi, and two in the cave at Karli[3] dated in the seventh and twenty-four years of his reign.

Since Gotamī is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grand-mother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamīputra Śātakarni is represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Śātakarni, mentioned in these inscriptions, is Pulumāyi, it appears that this last was the grand-son and the son respectively, of these two ladies He was therefore the son of, and his mother Vāsisthī the wife of, Gotamīputra Sātakarni Śātakarni issued the charter contained in the second Inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year

1 Ibid., No 25.

2 Ibid., Nos 3 and 27

3 Arch, Surv, West, Ind., No, 10, Nos 14 and 20,

of Puḷumāyi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nasik and Karli, and not to that of Gotamīputra Even the date of the large Inscription noticed above, in which Gotamīputra's great deeds are recorded, is referred to Puḷumāyi's reign And the grant of the village, alluded to in that Inscription and the one below, appears to have been made by Gotamīputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakataka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear, has been cut away Gotamī is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country, since the Inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakataka, which has been identified with Dharanikot in the Gantur district of the Madras Presidency And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamī's having been called the mother of the great king and the grand-mother of the great king This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time [1] Since the charter

1 Dr Bühler (Arch Surv of west Ind., Vol IV, P 110) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874 And even this statement has a very high corroborative value For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotamī's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grand-son were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grand-mother of a king, and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore, the title at different times If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point, by saying she was the mother of that son, that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a *living* great king And if it was a fact that Gotamīputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated, and Puḷumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the Inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him If Puḷumāyi became king only after Gotamīputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect, that a king who had been dead for nineteen years, should be highly extolled in the Inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vāsisthī, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamīputra had died in the interval, and Vāsisthī reigned as regent at the capital, while Pulumāyi continued to govern the Deccan or Mahārāstra The years given in the charter must be those of Pulumāyi, since even the large Inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign These kings belonged to the Śātavāhana dynasty

The names of other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other Inscriptions In one of the caves at Kanheri near Thana, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Madharīputra Sakasena[1] In two other Inscriptions at the same place, the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamīputa Śiri Yañña Śātakarni (Gotamīputra Sri Yajña Sātakarni)[2] In one of these, the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteen of his reign There is one Inscription at Nasik which is dated in the seventh year of that king[3] Pandit Bhagvanlal has brought to light the name of another prince There is, according to him, an Inscription on the Nana-Ghat in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vāsisthiputa Catarapana Sātakani

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist Stūpa at Kolhapur Another hoard had been found some

1 JBBRAS, Vol VI, No 19, and Vol XII, p 409 In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasenasa, but in the second, which is Pandit Bhagvanlal's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants The Pandit, therefore, reads the name as Sirisenasa for Śrīsenasya, but the *k* is distinct even in his copy. *Siki* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel *i* Dr Bhau Daji also read the name as Sakasenasa But the copy of the Inscription given in Plate LI, Vol V of the Archæological Survey of Western India and marked No 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point The name there is distinctly Sakasenasa Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on. It is, therefore, clearly a mistake to call the king Sirisena.

2 JBBRAS, Vol VI, Nos 4 and 14.

3 JBBRAS, Vol VII, No 4, and Trans Or Congr 1874, p 339.

time previous, in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly resemble those in the Cave Inscriptions above noticed. They are as follows :[1]

Raññо Vasithīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa
Raññо Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa
Raññо Madharīputasa Sevalakurasa

Here we have the same names as before ; but the words Viḷivāyakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhapur[2] For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanikot in the Gantur District about the site of Dhanakataka, the old capital The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhapur These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter, that the Vāsithīputa of these coins, who had Vilivāyakura for his viceroy, can be no other than Vāsisthīputra Pulumāyi The Gotamīputa must be Gotamīputra Yajña Śātakarni of the Inscriptions; for the father of Puḷumāyi did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the Inscriptions are dated in his reign, though his exploits are described in the Nasik Caves. Madhariputa must have come after Goatmīputa and not after Vāsithīputa, as is maintained by some scholars; for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the Stūpa dug out at

1 JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 305, and Vol. XIV, pp 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above They also were found at Kolhapur Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 154.

Supara, Pandit Bhagvanlal found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend : Rañño Gotamîputasa Siri Yañña Sātakaṇisa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamīputra Srī Yajña Śātakarni". This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse, which, though some of the letters are not distinct, appears to be : Gotamīputa-Kumāru-Yañña-Sātakani-Caturapanasa, the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Caturapana Yañña Sātakani, prince of Gotamīputa"[1] The coin was thus, like the Kolhapur coins, issued in the names of two persons; of whom Yajña Śrī Śātakarni was the reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Caturapana, who was his son, represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which, from the shape and get-up of the coin, appears to have been once ruled over by the Ksatrapas of Ujjayinī or Kathiavad

There is an Inscription at Kanheri, which is in a mutilated condition, but which with the help of Mr. West's eye-copy and an impression given in one of Dr Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr Buhler Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Sateraka, who was the confidential councillor of the Queen of Vāsisthīputra Sātakarni, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas, and was the daughter of a Mahāksatrapa, whose name is obliterated The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is

1 The nether portions of the letters 'Caturapanasa' only, are impressed on the coin, so that the reading is somewhat doubtful, but panasa is distinct enough Paṇḍit Bhagvanlal puts Caturapanasa at the beginning of the legend, and reads Caturapanasa Gotamīputa Kumāru Yañña Sātakaṇi, which he translates "Yajña Śātakarṇi, son of Gotamīputra, and prince of Caturapana", and states his belief that Caturapana was the name of Yajña Śrī's father But to connect Kumāru, which forms a part of a compound, with the genitive 'Caturapanasa', is grammatically not allowable, while the genitive, which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence Caturapanasa is the last word and the whole is a compound, Kumāru is probably a mistake for Kumāra and Yañña Sātakaṇi is the father's name placed before Caturapanasa to show that he was his son. (JBBRAS, Vol XV, pp 305–6)

the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father From the letters in West's copy, which look like Sakarāja, one might think the son meant was Śakasena; still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous[1] The name of this Vāsisthīputra is Śātakarni, wherefore he was not Pulumāyi, but very likely Catusparna (Catarapana) Śātakarni

Thus then, from these Inscriptions and coins, we arrive at the names of the following kings, arranged in the chronological order, indicated by the forms of the characters used, and by other circumstances :

Krsnarāja
Śātakarni
Ksaharāta Nahapāna, and his son-in-law, Usavadāta
Gotamīputra Sātakarni
Vāsisthīputra Pulumāyi
Gotamīputra Srī Yajña Śatakarni
Vāsisthīputra Catusparna (Caturapana or Catarapana)
Madharīputra Sakasena

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka Sātavāhana, a king that reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place

1 JBBRAS, Vol VI, and Archæol S of W I, Vol V, Inscription No 11, also p 78 of the latter There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍharī, point to a connection with the Śakas whose representatives the Ksatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this Inscription.

SECTION V

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS. IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER WITH THE ĀNDHRABHṚTYAS OF THE PURĀṆAS

The first thing that will strike one, on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Ksaharāta Nahapāna is not Indian but foreign The title Ksatrapa or Mahāksatrapa also, used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian Satrap From the statement in the Inscription of Gotamīputra, that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Ksaharāta Nahapāna does not look a Greek name He must, therefore, have been either a Saka or Pahlava Again, we are told that Gotamīputra left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta or Khakhārāta, which name seems to be the same as Ksaharāta or Khaharata, as it is spelt in the Karli and Junnar Inscriptions It follows, therefore, that the Sakas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country, some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamīputra Sātakarni, and that they were driven out by Gotamīputra who, by thus recovering the provinces, lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the Inscription, the glory of the Sātavāhana race to which he belonged All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty

Now, in the Purānas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the Maurya, founded by Candragupta in B.C. 320, as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purānas, and the last king Brhadratha was murdered by his general Pusyamitra or Puspamitra, who founded the Śunga dynasty This was in power for 112 years, and was succeeded by the Kānva family, which ruled for

forty-five years The Kānvas were overthrown by Sipraka, Sindhuka, or Sisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purānas call the dynasty of the Āndhrabhrtyas, that is, Āndhras who were once servants or dependents The second king of this dynasty was Krsna according to all, the third was Śātakarni or Srī-Śātakarni according to the Vāyu or Visnu, while the Bhāgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śāntakarna The Mātsya interposes three more kings between Krsna and Śātkarni, while the Visnu has another Śātakarni to correspond with that of the Mātsya Gotamīputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vāyu, fifteenth according to the Bhāgavata, seventeenth according to the Visnu, and twenty-second according to the Mātsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Puromat, was his successor according to the Visnu, the Bhāgavata, or the Mātsya These are so many mislections for the Pulumāyi of our Inscriptions and coins The Vāyu omits his name altogether His successor was Siva-Śrī, according to the Visnu and the Mātsya, while the Bhāgavata calls him Vedaśiras, and the Vāyu does not notice him Yajña-Srī occurs in all, being placed after Sivaskandha, the successor of Śiva-Śrī, by all except the Vāyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamīputra.

Thus then, the names occurring in the Inscriptions and on the coins, as well as the order, sufficiently agree with those given in the Purānas under the Āndrabhrtya dynasty, to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Catusparna Śātakarni unless we are to identify him with Canda-Śrī Śatakarni The name Madharīputra Śakasena also does not occur in the Purānas; and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nanaghat Inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Śātakarni, the third in the Purānic list, must be the same as Śiśuka, the founder of the dynasty For the Devanāgarī *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*; hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, Śisuka, Śiśuka in the course of time The Sindhuka of the Vāyu and the Sipraka of the Visnu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the con-

sideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him In this manner the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty of the Purānas is the same as the Śātavāhana dynasty of the Inscriptions

SECTION VI.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ĀNDHRABHṚTYAS OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

The next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes In my paper on the Nasik cave Inscriptions[1], I have accepted A D 319 as the date of Gotamīputra's accession, arrived at by taking B C 315 as the year in which Candragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pātaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamīputra, since the periods, assigned in the Purānas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Āndhrabhṛtya princes, who preceded Gotamīputra, when added, give according to the Mātsya 664 The "race of Khagārāta," which Gotamīputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nasik Inscriptions to have exterminated, I there identified with the dynasty of the Kṣatrapas, whose coins, as well as a few inscriptions, are found in Kathiavad, since Kṣaharāta or Khagārāta was also a Kṣatrapa, and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to Saka era, is A D 328 This comes so close to Gotamīputra's A D 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Kṣatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Castana and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed between him and Nahapāna (2)—If the Ksatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahārāṣtra for about three hundred years, as it did over Kathiavad, we might reasonably expect to find in that country Inscriptions or coins of most of the princes; but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karad,[2] and no inscription whatever. (3)–Rudradāman in his Junagad Inscription calls Śātakarni 'lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha', which he would not have done, if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Deccan (4)—And the dates occurring on

1 Trans. Or. Congr, 1874.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p 16.

some Satrap coins recently discovered, are said[1] to be 300 and 304, which referred to the Śaka, are A. D 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A D 340, which is the date of Gotamīputra's death according to the Purānic accounts For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagārāta or Nahapāna, which Gotamīputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satrapas. (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapāna and Gotamīputra is about 200 years, but the difference in form between the characters in Usavadāta's and Gotamīputra's Inscriptions is not great enough for that period Hence the two princes must be brought closer together

From the Greek geographer Ptolemy, we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions, of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Paithan, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Puḷumāvi or Puḷumāyi of the Inscriptions, corresponding to the Pulomat, or Puḷimat of the Purānas But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamīputra, mentioned in the Inscriptions, and another, an earlier prince of the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note ; wherefore, very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the governor of the Southern provinces We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhapur coins, the name Viḷivāyakura is assciated with that of Pulumāyi and of Gotamīputra Viḷivāyakura is the same as Baleocura, and I have already stated, that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty, and on Kolhapur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godāvarī districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhapur This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Pulumāyi of the Inscriptions and coins.

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 57, Note, and General. Cunningham's Arch Report, Vol. XI., p. 127.

Ptolemy died in A D. 163, and is said to have written his work after A D 151 Puḷumāyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the Inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Puḷumāyi's accession Some of Usavadāta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapāna is that in the Inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, viz , 46 These dates should, I think, be referred to the Śaka era. For, we have seen that before the time of Gotamīputra, the country was subject to the inroads of Śakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Sakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sind and even in Rajputana. The era known by the name of Śaka, and referred to in all the early copper-plate grants as the era of the Śaka king or kings, must have been established by the most powerful of the Śaka invaders,[1] who for the first time obtained a permanent footing in

1 Prof Oldenberg thinks Kaniska to be the founder of the era , but this view is, I think, untenable (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era. The dy tany of the Guptas, composed of seven kings, was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries (2)—The characters in Kaniska's Inscriptions, especially the *ya* as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. One has simply to compare Inscription No [illegible] in Plate XIII of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch Reports with No 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Ksatrapas and of Kaniska The former belongs to the time of the Ksatrapa Śodāsa and the letters are almost like those we find in Usavadāta's Inscriptions at Nasik , while those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth year of Kaniska, are considerably later , and both the Inscriptions exist in Mathurā. (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kaniska reigned over Gujrat and Mahārāstra, but the Śaka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A D 319, while the last of the three kings Kaniska, Huska, and Vāsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A D. 78, have ceased to reign about A. D. 178, i. e., about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty And the latest date of Vāsudeva is 89 If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta ; but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition that it was much

the country; and Nahapāna, and Castana[1] or his father, must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Malva On this supposition the latest date of Nahapāna must correspond to A D. 124 Gotamīputra or Pulumāyi therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Pulumāyi occurring in the Inscriptions is the second year of his reign; and since the inscription could not have borne that date, if Nahapāna or his successors had been in power, it is clear that Pulumāyi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Pulumāyi. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Castana But according to the Junagad Inscription, noticed above, Castana's grandson Rudradāman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Śaka, is 150 A D Castana and Pulumāyi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A D Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i e* to about the year 132 A D, since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Castana was on the throne and the year 150 A D when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadāman having occupied it for some time in the interval Again, in the nineteenth year of Pulumāyi, Gotamīputra was in possession, according to the large Inscription at

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shorter Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Śaka, *i. e.*, 319 A D, has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

1 Professor Oldenberg considers Castana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamīputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamīputra, whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners, cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Castana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title, and we have seen that Baleocuros, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son does not use that title. Rudradāman, the grandson of Castana, appointed, as we see from his Junagad Inscription, a Pahlava of the name of Suviśākha, who was the son of Kulaipa, to govern Surāstra and Ānarta This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

Nasik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junagad Inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradāman. The date 72 in the Inscription seems to refer to the being swept away, by a storm and excessive rain, of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned, and not to the cutting of the Inscription on the rock So that it is doubtful whether Rudradāman had conquered those provinces before 72, or did so after 72, and before the incision of the Inscription Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi must correspond at least to the second or third year before A D 150, that is Puḷumāyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A D 130 And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Puḷumāyi's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Castana, who was Puḷumāyi's contemporary, and his grandson Rudradāman, who was reigning in 150 A D, will be considerably shortened Nahapāna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamīputra or Pulumāyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, viz A D. 124.

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this. Nahapāna was a Satrap ruling over Mahārāstra His capital was probably Junnar, since the Inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister. He must have died soon after 42 Śaka or A D 124. Gotamīputra and Puḷumāyi came from the south-east, to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapāna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country This appears to be what is meant by Gotamīputra's having been represented in the Nasik Inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta," and to have "regained the prestige of his family" Castana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayinī In the Junagad Inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradāman and chosen him their lord for their protection ;[1] and he is spoken of as

1 The expression is सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन. Ind. Ant, Vol. VII, p. 260, 1. 9.

having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,[1] as having assumed the title of the Great Ksatrapa, and conquered Akarāvantī, Anūpa, Surāstra, Aparānta and other provinces, which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamīputra and some more ; and as having twice subdued Śātakarni, the lord of Daksināpatha, but still not destroyed him, in consequence of his connection[2] with him not being remote, and acquired a good name on that account.

The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamīputra Śātakarni, after having destroyed Nahapāna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinī. Or, the Ksatrapa sovereign of Ujjayinī, Castana, or very probably his son Jayadāman, having observed the growing power of Gotamīputra or Pulumāyi, who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayinī having attacked Śālivāhana at Paithan and been defeated by him Śālivāhana is but another mode of pronouncing Śātavāhana ,[3] and Pulumāyi or Gotamīputra was a Śātavāhana The ruler of Ujjayinī was

1 In Pandit Bhagvanlal's transcript in Vol VII, Ind. Ant., the reading is भ्रष्टराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन. But in a foot-note Dr Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्य for राज In Dr. Bhau Daji's copy of the Inscription, the ज्य is distinct , JBBRAS, Vol VII p 118, Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of *deposed kings*," (JBBRAS Vol VII, p 20,), and "he who has restored to their thrones *deposed kings*," (Ind Ant Vol VII, p 263 *a*,) If राज were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far-fetched There is nothing here to show that the lost rājya or kingdom, re-established by Rudradāman, was any other person's than his own So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

2 The reading is संबन्धावदूरया. It is allowable to insert त and take it as संबन्धावदूरतया But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context , as he could not have "acquired a good name," i, e been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Deccan on account of the remoteness of the connection Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The व therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake , wherefore, the true reading must be संबन्धादूरतया.

3 Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar.

defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamīputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avanti, Anūpa, Surāstra and Aparānta, and dethroned Jayadāman For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Castana, but subsequently Rudradāman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and, driving away the Śātavāhanas, regained his lost kingdom, and got himself crowned as Mahāksatrapa. But as appears from the Supara coin of Yajña-Śrī,—which bears such striking resemblance to the Ksatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhapur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Caturapana was his viceroy or representative,—that the Śātavāhanas retained possession of a part at least of the Ksatrapa territories up to the time of Yajña-Śrī. They even entered into blood relationship with the Ksatrapas, as we learn from the Kanheri Inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vāśisthīputra Śātakarni being the daughter of a Mahāksatrapa. But Rudradāman pursued his victories, and according to his Junagad Inscription, twice conquered Śātakarni, the lord of Daksināpatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote Thus the lord of Daksināpatha that he conquered was Yajña-Śrī Śātakarni. He could not have been his son Caturapana ; for the expression " non-remoteness of the connetion" suits the former better than the latter, as Caturapana's wife was the daughter of a Mahāksatrapa—perhaps his own—and the connection with him was positively close The re-acquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradāman, took place after the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi's reign, that is, after about A D 149. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers, and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends, as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other

But the date thus assigned to Gotamīputra is not consistent with that derived from the Mātsya Purāna Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Purāṇas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the great discrepancy between it and the Mātsya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as

regards the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty, I have already indicated above The genesis of our Purānic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rsis, assembled together at a sacrificial session, were handed down orally from generation to generation; and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Purānas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purānas and not from the oral tradition Of the works of this class, which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vāyu, and next to it the Mātsya. The Visnu is later, and the Bhāgavata, the latest The text of the old Purānas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account Now the four Purānas just mentioned contain general statements about the several dynasties, giving the number of princes belonging to each and its duration in years, and they also mention the names of those princes more particularly ; while the Vāyu and the Mātsya give in addition the number of years for which each reigned. Often there is a discrepancy between the general and the particular statements

The duration assigned by them all to the Maurya dynasty, founded by Candragupta, whose date as determind by his relations with the successors of Alexander the Great is justly characterised by Professor Max Muller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years The number of reigning princes given by the Vāyu is nine, and by the rest, ten, but the names actually enumerated in the Visnu only are ten, while the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata give nine, and the Mātsya, only four The total of the years assigned to each prince by the Vāyu is 133 years; so that it is not unlikely that a short reign of four years may have dropped out from the text of that Purāna Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the Mātsya has in this case undergone a good deal of corruption. Thus, if with Dr Kern, we take B. C 322 as the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, its overthrow and the foundation of the next or the Śunga family must have occurred in the

year B C 185 The Śungas are generally stated in all the Purānas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the Bhāgavata is not "112 years," but "more than a hundred years" In the actual enumeration, the Mātsya omits two, and the Bhāgavata, one; and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vāyu exceeds 112 There is evidently some mistake here, but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B C 73 The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kānvas or Kānvāyanas. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhāgavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years They were followed by the Āndhrabhrtyas. But here, there is a statement in the Vāyu and the Mātsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Āndhrabhrtyas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purāna, and Sisuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kānvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Śungas." [1] And the Kānvas are pointedly spoken of as Sungabhrtyas or "servants of the Śungas" [2] It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śunga family became weak, the Kānvas usurped the whole power, and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters, but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brahmans and not Ksatriyas Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śungas, include the 45 assigned to the Kānvas The Sungas and the Kānvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Āndhrabrtyas came to power in B C. 73. In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vāyu, the Visnu, and the Bhāgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mātsya; and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradi-

१ काण्वायनस्त(ं त)तो भृत्य सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तम् । शुङ्गानां चेव यच्छेष क्षपयित्वा बलं तदा ॥ सिन्धुको ह्यन्धजातीय प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुंधराम् ॥ Vāyu. "a servant of the race of the Āndhras, Sindhuka, having destroyed Suśarman of the Kāṇva family with main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Śuṅgas, will obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Mātsya is similar.

२ चत्वार शुङ्गभृत्यास्ते नृपा काण्वायना द्विजा । Vāyu.

tion as to thirty princes and about 456 years may, be accepted as correct. But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purānas in this last respect, is very great This will be apparent from the following table :—

Vāyu.		Mātsya.		Viṣṇu.	Bhāgavata.
Names	Duration of reign in years	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names
Sindhuka	23	Śiśuka	23	Śipraka	Name not given, but mentioned as a Vṛsala or Śūdra.
Kṛṣṇa	10	Kṛṣṇa	18	Kṛṣṇa	Kṛṣṇa
		Mallakarṇi	10 or 18	Śrī Śātakarṇi.	Śāntakarṇa.
		Pūrṇotsanga	18	Pūrṇotsanga.	Paurṇamāsa.
		Skandhastambhi.	18		
Śātakarṇi	56	Śātakarṇi	56	Śatakarni	
		Lambodara	18	Lambodara	Lambodara
Apīlava	12	Apītaka	12	Ivīlaka	Hivīlaka.
		Meghasvāti	18	Meghasvāti	Meghasvāti.
		Svāti	18		
		Skandasvāti	7		
		Mṛgendrasvātikarna	3		
		Kuntalasvāti	8		
		Svātikarṇa	1		
Paṭimāvi	24	Pulomāvi	36	Patumat	Aṭamāna.
Nemikṛṣṇa	25	Gaurakṛsna or Naurikṛṣṇa.	25	Aristakarman.	Aniṣṭakarman Hāleya
Hāla	1	Hāla	5	Hāla	
Saptaka or Maṇḍalaka	5	Maṇḍulaka	5	Pattalaka	Talaka.
Purikāṣeṇa.	21	Purindrasena	5	Pravillasena	Purīsabhīru.
Śātakarṇi	1	Sundara Svātikarṇa.	1	Sundara	Sunandana.
Cakora Śātakarṇi.	½	Cakora Śvātikarṇa.	1/3	Cakora	Cakora.
Śivasvāti	28	Śivasvāti	28	Śivasvāti	Śivasvāti.
Gautamīputra	21	Gautamīputra	21	Gomatīputra	Gomatīputra.
		Pulomat	28	Pulimat	Purimān(mat)
		Śivaśrī	7	Śivaśri	Medaśiras
		Śivaskanda	7	Śivaskandha	Śivaskanda.
Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi.	29	Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi.	29, 9 or 20	Yajñaśrī	Yajñaśrī.
Vijaya	6	Vijaya	6	Vijaya	Vijaya.
Daṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi.	3	Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi.	10	Candraśri	Candravijña.
Pulomāvi	7	Pulomavit	7	Pulomārcis.	Sulomadhi.

Thus, the Vāyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; and the Mātsya, thirty and 448 and a half The Visnu gives twenty-four names, and the Bhāgavata, twenty-two. This last Purāna has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hāla with the Aristakarman of the Visnu, whom it names Anistakarman Hāleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Visnu Purāna. The details given in the Mātsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it. Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vāyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must, I think, be accounted for in some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the Vāyu Purāna, in a verse below, to the effect that the "Āndhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years,"[1] which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the Bhāgavata by which the Kānvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years The original account, which the author of this Purāna must have seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kānvas, and three hundred to the next or Āndhrabhrtya dynasty But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, viz 456 years, he connected the "three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kānvāyana family Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Āndhrabhrtya dynasty That the younger princes often reigned at Paithan and the elderly ones at Dhanakataka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paithan princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakataka. From an Inscription found at Banavāsī by Dr. Burgess, it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kanara. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vāyu Purāna refer probably to the main

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1 अन्ध्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधां शते द्वे च शतं च वै। Vāyu.

branch The Mātsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches, and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years, assigned to the several reigns in the Vāyu, is 272½, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become 300½. Thus then the Vāyu and the Mātsya Purānas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Visnu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vāyu It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign The Bhāgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown

If then we take the account in the Vāyu Purāna to refer to the main branch of the dynasty, and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the Śātavāhanas or Āndhrabhṛtyas, and the end of the reign of Śivasvāti, is 206 years [1] The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B C 73, wherefore the end of Śivasvāti's reign and the accession of Gotamīputra must be placed in A D 133. We have seen that Puḷumāyi, whose capital was Paithan according to Ptolemy, and who from the Inscriptions, appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paithan about 130 A D.. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Deccan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamīputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamīputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purānas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A. D He was alive, as stated before, in the eighteenth year of Puḷumāyi, *i e.* in 148, and also in the nineteenth, when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, *i e* in 154, according to the two Inscriptions mentioned before Ptolemy's mention of Puḷumāyi, I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamīputra's and Puḷumāyi's Inscriptions at Nasik, and Rudradā-

1 By adding up the numbers in the table

man's at Junagad (on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Śaka), as well as those derived from the Purāṇas, may thus be shown to be consistent with each other. The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the Inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged:

Simuka began to reign in B. C 73 and ceased in B. C. 50.
Kṛṣṇa began in B. C. 50 and ceased in B C. 40.
Śātakarṇi (third in the Vāyu P.) began in B C. 40 and ceased in A.D. 16.
Nahapāna Ksaharāta.
Gotamīputra began in A. D 133 add ceased in A D. 154.

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Puḷumāyi in the Mātsya Purāna are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamīputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakaṭaka in A.D. 154, and to have ceased in A D 182. He reigned at Paithan from A.D. 130 to A D 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the Inscriptions at Nasik and Karli is the twenty-fourth Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years But if the twenty-eight include twenty-four for which he ruled at Paithan, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable He was succeeded by Śiva-Śrī, whose coin found in the Tailangana districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 64. He appears to have been Puḷumāyi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vāsithīputa, *i. e.* Vāsisthīputra, or the son of Vāsisthī. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A D. 165. Śivaskanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country; while the name of the next, Yajña Śrī, occurs frequently as we have seen in Inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Puḷumāyi's immediate successor at Paithan. His full name was Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarni, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamīputra of the Kolhapur coins. Some copies of the Mātsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vāyu, twenty-nine; while the Brahmānda allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahārāṣṭra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakataka, since, according to our supposition, the Vāyu Purāna gives an account of the Dhanakaṭaka branch and

his coins are found in Tailangana. And this is confirmed by what we have already said Puḷumāyi reigned at Dhanakaṭaka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, i. e. for eighteen years, Yajña-Śrī was ruler of Mahārāṣṭra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A. D. 172 and died in about A. D. 202.

The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vāyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country; but coins of Candra-Śrī are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above Thus the latest Āndhra-bhṛtya date is A. D 218 Madharīputa Sakasena of the Kanheri Inscription, the same as the Madharīputa of the Kolhapur coins, has been identified with Śiva-Śrī, the successor of Puḷumāyi, by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and I also at one time concurred with him But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Śirīsena for Sakasena ; but I have shown that the reading is incorrect Mr. Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amarāvatī near Dharanikot, the legend on which he reads as Sakasakasa, but it is not unlikely Sakasenasa, " of Sakasena " Besides, Mādharīputra Śakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Puḷu-mayi for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhapur coins, figured by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, bears the names of both Gotamīputa and Madharīputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr Thomas thinks that it was originally Madharīputa's coin I think it was Gotamīputa's ; for, if we see the other figured coins, we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Maḍharīputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Madharīputa Śakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamīputra Yajña-Śrī Śātakarṇi But, as we have seen, none of his three Purāṇic successors bore the name, and the name Śakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Āndhrabhṛtyas Still that king must have reigned at Dhanaka-ṭaka also, if my surmise that Mr Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct

In the same manner, as observed before, Catusparna Śātakarni's name does not appear in the Purānas. But the Purānas cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the Mātsya Purāna another Āndhra dynasty of " seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Āndhrabhrtya family will, " it is said, " come into power after that family becomes extinct "[1] The Vāyu has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt; but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Āndhrabhrtya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line And we can very well understand from the points already made out, how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yajña-Śrī's ceasing to reign. Vāsisthīputra Sātakarni whom I have identified with Caturapana married a Ksatrapa lady The Ksatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Śakas who had become Hindus Madharīputra was not unlikely the son of that lady And thus he and his father Caturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Caturapana appears to have succeeded Yajña-Śrī, and Madharīputra to have reigned after Caturapana The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corresponds to 185 A. D., and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Śātavahanas are, therefore, these

In Mahārāstra.

Pulumāyi	A D 130—A D 154.
Yajña-Śrī	A D 154—A D 172.
Catusparṇa or Caturapana	A D 172—was reigning in A D. 185.
Maḍharīputra ...	About A.D. 190—was reigning in about A D.197.

In Tailangana

Pulumāyi	A.D. 154—A D 158.
Śiva-Śrī	A D 158—A D 165
Śivaskanda	A.D. 165—A D. 172
Yajña-Śrī	A D. 172—A.D, 202.
Vijaya	A D. 202—A D. 208.
Candra-Śrī	A D. 208—A.D. 211.
Pulomavi	A D. 211—A D. 218.

1 अन्ध्राणां संस्थिना (ते?) राज्ये तेषा भृत्यान्वये नृपा । सप्तैवान्ध्रा भविष्यन्ति.

Thus then, the Āndhrabhṛtyas or Śātavāhanas ruled over the Deccan from B C. 73 to about A D. 218, i e, for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the Śaka tribe How long these were in power, it is difficult to determine If the Saka era was established by the foreign canqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrapa Nahapāna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamīputra or Puḷumāyi, six or seven years after Nahapāna's latest date, viz. 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years

SECTION VII.

POLITICAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS OR SĀLIVĀHANAS.

THE period during which the Śātavāhanas or Āndhrabhṛtyas ruled over Mahārāṣṭra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Śālivāhana or Sātavāhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified Thus Hemacandra in his Desīkosa gives Śālivāhana, Sālana, Hāla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual; but we see from the list given above that the last two names were borne by different princes, and both of them were Śālivāhanas In his grammar, he gives Śālivāhana as a Prakrit corruption of Śātavāhana.

In modern times, the Śaka era is called the Sālivāhana era or an era founded by Śālivāhana When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century, speak of the era as Śaka-nṛpa-kāla, i e, the era of the Śaka king or as Śakakāla, i e, the era of the Śaka, and in an Inscription at Badami it is stated to be the era beginning from " the coronation of the Śaka king " Subsequently, the simple expression "Śāke, in the year of the Śaka," was used, and thereafter Sake or " in the Śaka ". The word Śaka thus came to be understood as equivalent to " an era " generally, the original sense being forgotten And since the era had to be connected with some great king, it was associated with the name of Śālivāhana, whom tradition had represented to be such a king; and thus we now use the expression Śālivāhana Saka, which, etymologically, can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families

The current legend makes Śalivāhana the son of a Brahman girl who was a sojourner at Paithan and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter On one occaşion

she went to the Godāvarī to bathe, when Śesa, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her In due course she gave birth to Śālivāhana, who was brought up in the house of the potter[1] Some time after, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetāla or King of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetāla saw Śālivāhana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramāditya. Thereupon he invaded Paithan with a large army, but Śālivāhana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered Vikramāditya, and defeated him This descent of a king of Ujjayinī on Paithan I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain The Śālivāhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Puḷumāyi who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Śakas and fought with Castana or Jayadāman and Rudradāman, whose capital appears to have been Ujjayinī It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Puḷumāyi–Śālivāhana's relations with the Śakas and their Satrapa kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana A work of the name of Bṛhatkathā, written in that form of the Prakrit which is called the Paiśācī or the language of goblins, is mentioned by Dandin in his work, the Kāvyādarsa.[2] Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and Ksemendra, the author of the Bṛhatkathā, profess to have derived their stories from this Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Gunādhya, who for some time had been minister to Śātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kānabhūti They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Gunādhya offered them to king Śātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written

1 The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is, in the Kathāsaritsāgara, mentioned with reference to Guṇāḍhya who was the son of the girl Śātavāhana's origin is given differently

2 भूतभाषामयी प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम्।

in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Gunādhya burnt six of them. Some time after, king Śātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Gunādhya and asked for them But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission [1]

It is narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara that while Śātavāhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words· Modakaih paritādaya mām. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, Mā "do not" and Udakaih "with waters," but taking it to be one word, meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought, and began to throw pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense; but he was not Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Gunādhya and Sarvavarman, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause; and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve Sarvavarman, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted ; but as it was not possible to do so, Śarvavarman propitiated the God Kārtikeya or Skanda by his self-mortifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sūtra of a new grammar, Siddho Varnasamāmnāyah Thereupon Śarvavarman repeated the other Sūtras, when Kārtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty, and had allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pānini's, but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—Kātantra, and would also be called Kālāpaka after the tail of his peacock This new grammar Śarvavarman taught to the king [2]

1 Kathāsaritsāgara, II. 8.

2 Kathāsaritsāgara VI. 108 & ff.

The same story is told by Tārānātha in his "History of Buddhism"[1]; but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Śarvavarman, Saptavarman; while the competitor of Śarvavarman is represented by him to be Vararuci instead of Gunādhya But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Sourthern India, and Śātavāhana in the form of Śāntivāhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuci lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Śātavāhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the South, though the usual Udayana is a Northern prince

It will thus appear that the Kātantra grammar was composed by Sarvavarman at the request of a prince of the Sātavāhana family. And the same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang, when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pāṇini and others " Lately a Brahman of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them further to 2,500 ślokas. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice[2]

There is a work written in the old Mahārāstrī dialect called Saptasatī, which is of the nature of an anthology, consisting of Gāthās or stanzas in the Āryā metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is, in the third verse, mentioned as Hāla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Śālivāhana Bāna speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his Harsa-carita as " an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Śālivāhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarūpaka, in the Sarasvatī-Kanthābharana, and in the Kāvyaprakāsa There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Āndhrabhṛtya princes, one of the name of Hāla, who probably was either the author of the work, or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet.

1 Schiefner's Translation, p 73 & ff.

2 Life of Hwan Thsang, Beal s Trans, p 122.

From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Āndhrabhṛtyas, and that the Prakrits or spoken languages, especially the Mahārāstrī, were probably for the first time, used for literary purposes. In Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra or Institutes of Love, Kuntala Śātakarni Śātavāhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavatī, (who is called Mahādevī, and consequently must have been his chief queen,) by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.[1] The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Mātsya Purāna.

1 कर्त्तर्या कुन्तल शातकर्णि शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं [जघान] Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf Cat, p. 217 b, does not contain the name मलयवतीं, and he supplies गणिका from the preceding clause, but a Gaṇikā or courtezan cannot be called Mahādevī

SECTION VIII

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA UNDER THE ĀNDHRABHṚTYAS OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

DURING this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahābhojas and Mahāratthis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarnakāras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhānyakaśrenis), druggists (Gāndhikas), and ordinary householders (Grhasthas), caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned above that in the first part of this period, the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, Sakas, and Pahlavas These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the Cave Inscriptions, there are a good many Sakas and Yavanas But some, and especially the Sakas, seem to have adopted Brahmanism The Buddhist temples were provided with Caityas or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhiksus or mendicant priests These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments In the month of Śrāvana, the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with directions that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The mendicant priests often travelled by sea; and hence at the head of several of the creeks in Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharma-śālās or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahad and Kude, situated respectively on the Dabhol, the Bankot, and the Rajapuri creeks. For those who

landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghod-Bandar, there were the Kanheri caves

Brahmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the Inscription at Nasik, in which Usavadāta dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense, for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brahmans The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now Usavadāta fed a hundred thousand Brahmans, as the Maharaj Sindia did about thirty years ago It was considered highly meritorious to get Brahmans married at one's expense then as now Gotamīputra also, in the same Inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brahmans, and as having, like Usavadāta, put them in the way of increasing their race Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the Inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them

Trade and commerce must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukaccha, the modern Bharoch; and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west

Paithan is placed by the author of the Periplus at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakhinabades or Daksiṇāpatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paithan[1] This town has not yet been identified Its name does not occur in any of the Cave Inscriptions; but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century, and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Silāhāra, call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar;

1 Ind Ant, Vol. VIII, pp. 143, 144.

but in both cases its bearing from Paithan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account. I have elsewhere discussed the question, and have proposed Dharur in the Nizam's territory as the site of the ancient city.

The other sea-port towns mentioned in the Periplus are: (2) Souppara, the modern Supare or Supara near Bassein and the Śorparaka of the Inscriptions and the Purānas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr Campbell and Pandit Bhagvanlal; (3) Kalliena, the modern Kalyan, which must have been a place of great commercial importance, since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kanheri and some mentioned in the ca es at Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyan;[1] (4) Semulla, identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others; (5) Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Mandad, originally Mandagada, situated on the Rajapuri creek near Kude, where we have the caves; (6) Palaipatmai, which probably was the same as Pal which is near Mahad, (7) Melizeigara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognized as Jayagad and which must be identified with that place, whatever the first part Meli may mean; (8) Buzantion, and others

Buzantion is probably the Vaijayantī[2] of the Inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified, it is difficult to say Vaijayantī is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates, translated by Mr Telang,[3] and was most probably some place in North Kanara In a grant of the Vijayanagara dynasty, Mādhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantīpura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital[4] Jayantīpura is said to be another name for Banavasi In the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata, Banavasi is spoken of, as if it were the name of a country, and

1 See the Inscriptions in JBBRAS, Vol. VI, and in Arch, Surv, W. India, No. 10.

2 Karli No. 1, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No 10,

3 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, pp. 318 and 321.

4 JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p, 115.

immediately after it, Jayanti is mentioned as a town.[1] If then Jayanti and Vaijayanti were two forms of the same name, Vaijayanti was probably the modern Banavasi, or perhaps, in consideration of the facts that the name of Vaijayanti occurs in an Inscription at Karli, and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagad to the southern limit of North Kanara, Vaijayanti may be identified with Vijayadurga But these objections are not of very great weight.

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of Besides Paithan and Tagara there was Nasik, which is mentioned in an Inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Bedsa. The district about the town was called Govardhana

Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place But what its name was, we do not know The name Junnar, Junanara, Jūrnanagara, or Jīrnanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapāna. Puḷumāyi, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapāna, is, in one of the Nasik Inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the New Town That he reigned at Paithan we know from Ptolemy, and also from the many traditions about Śālivāhana, which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city The Navanara, then, of the Inscription was probably another name given to the town when Puḷumāyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapāna's capital was called the "Old Town" Or perhaps Puḷumāyi widened the old town of Paithan and called the new extension Navanara

What town existed near the group of caves at Karli and the adjoining places, we do not know But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an Inscription

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1 Chap XXXI, vv 69 and 70, Bom Ed. The Vanavāsinah at the end of v. 69 [illegible] to the town or country of Banavāsī, and ought properly to appear as [illegible]. In the Purāṇas, too, Vanavāsikāḥ is given as the name of

named Valuraka,[1] and the district in which it was situated is called Māmalāhāra,[2] or the district of Māmala, the modern Maval.

Further south there was the town of Karahātaka, the modern Karhad, which is mentioned in an Inscription at Kude[3] and also in the Mahābhārata.[4] Kolhapur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhistic Stūpa containing the coins we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there The old name of the place is unknown Either Karhad or Kolhapur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros, whom we have identified with the Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhapur coins

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes The great Chaitya-cave at Karli was caused to be constructed by a Seth (Śresthin) of Vaijayantī, and in other places also, especially at Kanheri, their gifts were costly

There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers &c. Their organisation seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation

Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A Nigamasabhā or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Usavadāta's Nasik Inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days

It is also worthy of remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 Kārsāpanas, deposited by Usavadāta, was 100 Kārsāpanas, and in another case, that on 1000 was 75, showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent per annum If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to

1 No 14, Karli. Arch. Surv. West, Ind, No. 10,

2 Ibid No. 19.

3 No. 20, Kuda Caves. Arch. Surv. West Ind. No 10.

4 In the place above referred to.

the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed, notwithstanding political revolutions To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayantī or Banavāsī, and Śorpāraka or Supara, are recorded in the cave at Karli ; of a Nasik merchant at Bedsa ; of some inhabitants of Bharukaccha and Kalyan at Junnar, of natives of Northern India and Dattāmitrī, which, I have elsewhere shown, was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nasik ; and of an iron-monger of Karahātaka or Karhad at Kude On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nasik and Karhad are recorded on the Stūpa at Bharhut, which lies midway between Jabbalpore and Allahabad.[1] Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another

1 Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

SECTION IX

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE EXTINCTION OF THE ĀNDHRABHṚTYAS AND THE RISE OF THE CĀLUKYAS.

FOR about three centuries after the extinction of the Āndhrabhṛtyas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country The Mātsya and the Vāyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Āndhrabhṛtyas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madharīputra of the Inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kṣatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhad is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kṣatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Deccan after the Sātavāhanas The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sāha[1] (or Sena) whose date is 144[2] which, if the era is that of the Śaka kings, corresponds to A D 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Sātavāhanas is about A D 218 The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhad is Visva Sāha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A. D 292 and A. D 302.[3]

About this time princes of the race of Ābhīras or cowherds must have come into power Ten of them are mentioned in the Purāṇas. In the Nasik caves there is an Inscription dated in the ninth year of Vīrasena Ābhīra, the son of Damarī and of Śivadatta Ābhīra [4] The characters in the Inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the Inscriptions of the latter Āndhrabhṛtya kings, must be regarded as more modern The language is Sanskrit,

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1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p 17.

2 Ibid. p. 28 (No 10).

3 Ibid No 15

4 Ibid. No. 15, and Trans. Inter. Con, 1874, p 341

which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pali, or the Pali became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts ; and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Aśoka to the extinction of the Āndhrabityas, the language used was mostly the Pali, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prakrits of the period

The Ābhīras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vāyu Purāna Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Purānas as having ruled over the country But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations

We have seen from the Cave Inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Ksatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Ratthis or Rāstrikas were predominant in the country In the northern part of the Deccan or Mahārāstra these called themselves "the Great Ratthis or Mahāraṭthis, the ancient Marāthās," but in other places the name in use must have been Ratthis or Ratthas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Maratha Country who called themselves by that name Some of the Rattha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kūta) and called themselves Ratthakūda, and later on Rāthoda, the Sanskrit original of which is Rāstrakūta Or the Rāstrakūta family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Ratthas that had spread over the whole country These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Āndhrabhrtyas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Ksatrapas But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence The Ābhīras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only ; for the tradition of Gaulī or cowherd rulers, which very probably refers to them, is confined to the Nasik and Khandesh districts.

The Rāstrakūtas probably rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīras. Hence in the Inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet, first brought to light by Mr Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot[1] respectively, it is stated that Jayasimha, the founder of the Cālukya dynasty in the Deccan, 'established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Krsna of the Rāstrakūta family. The Cālukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Deccan was ruled over by princes of the Rāstrakūta family.

An Inscription on copper-plates, found in the Caitya of one of the caves at Kanheri, is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakūtaka[2] But the published copy of the Inscription was made in the time of Dr Bird, and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination The Strakūtaka may be a mislection for Rāstrakūta But it is not unlikely Traikūtaka, as the late Pandit Bhagvanlal contended. He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikūtakas by a prince of the name of Darhasena[3] in the year 207. Traikūtaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it And the Kanheri Inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own From the form of the characters in the Inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era; so that the Traikūtaka dynasty was founded about the middle of the third century, i e after the extinction of the Sātavāhanas. But further information about the dynasty is not available, and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Cedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalacuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A. D. and held sway over a part of the Deccan including the western coast up to the country of Lāta. They were afterwards driven away by some other race and had to confine themselves to Cedi. The resemblance between the names Tripura, the capital of the dynasty, and Trikūta is perhaps not fortuitous

1 JRAS, Vols II, III, IV, Ind Ant., Vol VIII, p. 12.

2 JBBRAS., Vol V, p. 16, of the copies of the Kanheri Inscription,

3 JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 346.

SECTION X

THE EARLY CĀLUKYAS.

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Calikya, Calukya, or Cālukya[1] A large number of Inscriptions on copper-plates and stone-tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty The legendary orgin of this family is thus given by Bilhana, the author of the Vikramānkadevacarita, or life of Vikramāditya a prince of the later or restored Cālukya line On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrifical rites or gave oblations to the gods Brahmadeva looked at his 'culuka', or the hand hollowed for the

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1 Dr Fleet draws a distinction between Calukya and Cālukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Taila II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early Inscriptions." But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early Inscriptions The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or चा is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakably The Inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose, we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Rāstrakūtas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them In the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III (Ind ant., Vol. VI, p. 65), we have यश्चालुक्यकुलादनून &c, in verse 3 In the Navasari grant edited by me (JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p 257) we have चालुक्यवंशजलधे स्वयमेव लक्ष्मी &c In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr Hultzsch we have चालुक्यानां कुलम् (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol, I pp 44, 47 & 57). The form चलुक्य is also frequently used. The distinction between च and चा and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pāṇini and of the Brāhmaṇas, but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prakrit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language. Calukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find.

reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Cāḷukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hārīta and Mānavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhyā, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the South.

As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Cāḷukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mānavya and were the descendants of Hārīti They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kārtikeya. They obtained from Nārāyaṇa a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhana in representing Ayodhyā as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century

The first prince who raised the family to distinction in the South was Jayasimha He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, with those belonging to the Rāstrakūta family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Raṇarāga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person

He was succeeded by his son Pulakeśi, who performed a great Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next He made Vātāpipura, which has been identified with Badami in the Kaladgi district, his capital. He appears to have been the first great prince of the family ; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him His full title was Satyāśraya Śrī Pulakeśi Vallabha Mahārāja. Of these words, Vallabha appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases, Vallabha had Pṛthvī prefixed to it, so that the expression meant " the Lover or Husband of the Earth " Satyāśraya or " the Support of Truth " was inherited by some of the later princes.

Pulakeśi's son Kīrtivarman succeeded to the throne after him. He subjugated a family of princes of the name of Nalas; but over what province it ruled we do not know He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an Inscription at Aihole[1] upon which this account is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan, and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavāsī in North Kanara.

Kīrtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died. His brother Mangalīśa therefore came to the throne after him Mangalīśa vanquished the Kalacuris, a family of princes ruling over the country of Cedi, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur near Jabbalpore Buddha, son of Śamkaragana, whom he is represented in one grant[2] to have conquered and put to flight, must have been a Kalacuri prince, as the name Śamkaragana frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty

Mangalīśa is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatīdvīpa, or the Island of Revatī. A copperplate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa[3], from which it would appear that Revatī was very probably the old name of Redi[4] situated a few miles to the south of Vengurla. In an Inscription in a cave-temple at Badami, it is stated that the temple[5] was caused to be excavated by Mangalīśa. He there placed an idol of Visnu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nārāyanabali was to be performed and sixteen Brahmans to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This Inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Śaka era had elapsed. The reign in the twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated, is taken to be the reign of Mangalīśa. On this supposition Mangalīśa began to reign in 489 Śaka; but I

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 241.

2 Ind Ant, Vol. VII, p. 161 See also Vol. XIX, p. 17

3 JBBRAS., Vol. X, pp. 365-6.

4 Revatī should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revaḍī or Rea-ḍī and then to Reḍī

5 Ind. Ant, Vol III, p. 305.

have elsewhere[1] brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Mangalīśa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism[2] that I have seen on my observations, seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that of Kīrtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Śaka, Kīrtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 Śaka corresponding to A D 567 In that Inscription Mangalīsa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Āditya and Agni and of the assembled crowd of men, and claims to himself only the fruit arising from serving his brother faithfully In the copper-plate grant of the governor of Revatī, referred to above, Śaka 532 is mentioned as the twentieth year of the reign of a prince who, from the titles given there and from the fact that Mangalīsa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Cālukya family He could not have been Kīrtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Mangalīsa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 533 Śaka. He must therefore have been Mangalīśa himself, and if Śaka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Śaka.[3] Kīrtivarman thus reigned from 489 Śaka or A D. 567 to 513 Śaka or A D 591, that is, for twenty-four years

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1 JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, pp. 23—25

2 Ind Ant., Vol. X, pp. 57-58.

3 See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above In a recently published article Dr. Fleet places the accession of Mangalīśa in 521 Śaka current, being led to it by the occurrence in an Inscription of that prince of the words राज्यपञ्चमश्री वर्षे प्रवर्त्तमाने सिद्धार्थे I have carefully examined the facsimile of the Inscription given in the article, and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. राज्य and प्रवर्त्तमाने are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word श्री also. But पञ्चम is highly doubtful, the letter which Dr. Fleet reads म is exactly like that which he reads ञ्च, and there is some vacant space after ञ्च and म in which something like another letter appears Similarly the सि of सिद्धार्थे is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are also doubtful. Besides in no other Inscription of the early Cālukyas does the cyclic year appear. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 9 and ff.)

In the latter years of his reign Mangalīśa seems to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakeśi off from the succession, and to place his own son on the throne But Pulakeśi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel, he neutralised all the advantage that Mangalīśa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Mangalīsa lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakeśi, the son of Kīrtivarman, succeeded. His full title was Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthvī-Vallabha Mahārāja. From a copper-plate[1] grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 Śaka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 Śaka or A D. 611 After Mangalīśa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appāyika and another named Govinda (who very probably belonged to the Rāstrakūta race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family) attacked the new Cālukya king The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakeśi; and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded[2] He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavāsī, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Ganga family, which ruled over the Cera[3] country situated about the modern province of Mysore, and the head of the Alupa[4] race, which probably held the province of Malabar, became his allies He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Purī,[5] which was the

1 Ind Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73

2 Ind. Ant., Vol VIII, p. 243, line 8 of the Inscription From the words ca, ekena and apareṇa it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr. Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake; and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 363, and Vol. VII, p 168.

4 The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malbar Coast.

5 The town is called the Lakṣmī of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Śilāhāras.

mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lāta, Malava, and Gurjara were conquered and became his dependents.

About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harsavardhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the North He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadā, but was opposed by Pulakeśi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army Thenceforward, Pulakeśi received or assumed the title of Paramesvara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakeśi II Pulakeśi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadā to guard the frontiers

Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahārāstrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages The kings of Kosala and Kalinga[1] trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kāñcīpura or Conjeveram and laid siege to the town He then crossed the Kāverī and invaded the country of the Colas, the Pāṅdyas, and the Keralas But these appear to have become his allies After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the South, he entered his capital and reigned in peace. The date of the Inscription from which the greater portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Saka, corresponding to A D. 634, so that Pulakesi's career of conquest had closed before A D. 634

It was in the reign of this king that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India In the course of his travels through the country he visited Mahārāstra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-cha.* He saw Pulakeśi, whom he thus describes : " He is of the race of *Tsa-ta-li* (Ksatriyas). his name is *Pu-lo-ki-she* ; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion."[2]

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1 For the position of these countries, see Sec. III, para 2.

2 Ind. Ant, Vol. VII, p. 290.

About Pulakeśi's having withstood the power of Harsavardhana, which we have before mentioned on the authority of Inscriptions, Hwan Thsang speaks in these words: "At present the great king Śīlāditya (Harsavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west, he subdues distant peoples and makes the neighbouring nations fear him; but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners"[1]

The Chinese traveller visited Mahārāstra about the year A D. 639, that is, five years after the Inscription referred to above was incised The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a large river The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Mahārāstra are thus described by him: "The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain The climate is warm The manners are simple and honest The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies If they kill a man met

1 Ind. Ant, Vol., VII, p. 291.

upon the road the law does not punish them Whenever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor They run in a body trampling everything under their feet No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms"

Pulakesi II appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty, and his fame reached even foreign countries He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an embassy to Chosroes II, king of Persia, who reigned from A D. 591 to A D 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after [1]

During his reign the power of the Cālukyas was established over a very large extent of country His younger brother Visnuvardhana, otherwise called Visamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Satara and Pandharpur districts, since a copper-plate Inscription of his found at Satara records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhīmā [2] Visnuvardhana afterwards obtained the province of Vengi between the lower Krsnā and the Godāvarī, where he founded another flourishing branch of Cālukya dynasty Pulakesi's second brother Jayasimha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nasik For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpuri taluka of that district, Nāgavardhana, the son of Jayasimha, assigns the village of Balegrāma, which has been identified with the modern Belgam Tarhala, about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpuri, for the worship of the god Kāpālikesvara.[3] The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparāstra Similarly, Pulakesi's eldest son Candrāditya ruled over the province which contained the Savantvadi district In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhattārikā, the queen of Candrāditya,

1 Arch Sur. W India, No 9 pp 90 92.

2 JBBRAS, Vol II, p 11

3 JBBRAS., Vol II, p 4, first translated by Bāla Śāstrī and then by me (JBBRAS., Vol XIV), and last of all by Dr. Fleet (Ind Ant., Vol IX, p. 123).

who is styled Prthvīvallabha and Mahārāja or great king, assigns to certain Brahmans a field along with the adjoining Khajjana (modern Khājana) or marshy land in the village of Kocarem situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Vengurle. In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of svarājya or "one's own reign" Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramāditya, the second son of Pulakesi, who succeeded his father at the chief seat of government. Candrāditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as svarājya or her reign It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone The religious merit arising from them is sought by women as much as by men; and hence a woman like Vijayabhattārikā might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these grants, as has been thought She was simply the crowned queen of a reigning monarch at that time

Another son of Pulakesi named Ādityavarman seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Krsnā and the Tungabhadrā,[1] as a copper-plate grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was found in the Karnul District

An undated grant of Pulakesi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan has recently been published In it he sanctions the grant of the village of Āmravātaka made by his maternal uncle Srīvallabha Senānandarāja, "the ornament" of the Sendraka race[2] This appears to be a family of minor chiefs with whom the Cālukyas were connected. A similar grant was made by the next king at the request of the Sendraka chief Devasakti[3] Inscriptions of Sendrakas are found in Gujarat also, where probably they went when the power of the Cālukyas was established in that province The name Sendraka is probably preserved in the modern Maratha name Sinde.

1 Ind Ant, Vol X, p. 244, and JBBRAS, Vol. XVI, p 223.

2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p. 51.

3 JBBRAS, Vol XVI, p 228. See also below.

Pulakeśi was succeeded by his second son Vikramāditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśi's priyatanaya or favourite son; so that it appears that Pulakeśi had arranged that Vikramāditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son Candrāditya.

At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance; but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the North who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far South The Pallava king of Kāñcī or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Colas, the Pāndyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled Vikramāditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Colas, Pāndyas, and Keralas He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kāñcī, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage On the back of his horse Citrakantha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas" [1]

During the reign of Vikramāditya I, a branch of the Cālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarat or the country called Lāta in ancient times. Vikramāditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman Dharāśraya, who thus was another son of Pulakeśi II [2] Śryāśraya Śilāditya son of Jayasimha made a grant of land while residing at Navasari in the year 421,[3] and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumeśvara with his victorious army [4] In both of these Śryāśraya is called Yuvarāja or prince-regent and not a king Another son of Jayasimha named Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Mangalarāja issued a similar charter in the Śaka year

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 86, 89, 92, JBBRAS, Vol. III, p 203, and Ind. Int., Vol. IX, pp 127, 130-131.

2 JBBRAS., Vol XVI, p. 2

3 Ibid. pp. 2 and 3.

4 Transactions VII., Or. Congr., p 226,

653.[1] Pulakeśi, who represents himself as the younger brother of Jayāśraya Mangalarasarāja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490[2] Both are styled kings

From all this it appears that Jayasimhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujarat, did not rule over the province himself but made his son Śryāśraya his regent. He held that position for more than twenty-two years; and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakeśi's grant. Pulakeśi, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother. Śryāśraya died before his father; Jayāsraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakeśi

The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era, be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively; while Jayāśraya's 653 Śaka is 731 A D. But Vinayāditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A D [3], and Jayasimha whose Yuvarāja was Śryāśraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A D, i. e 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramāditya, while the interval between Pulakeśi and his immediate predecessor Jayāśraya will become 77 years, as Śaka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A D

The Gupta era will, therefore, not do; and we must with the late Pandit Bhagvanlal refer the dates to the Traikūtaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances Thus Śryāsraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A D., of Jayāśraya 731 A D, and of Pulakesi 739 A D, and there will be no incongruity But the original dates themsetves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between Śryāśraya and Pulukesi to be 69 years; and if we take the later date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasimha Dharāśraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years

1 JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

2 Transactions VII, Or. Congr, p 230,

3 See below.

In Pulakeśi's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tājikas which had destroyed the Saindhava,[1] Kaccella,[2] Saurāstra, Cāvotaka,[3] Maurya,[4] Gurjara[5] and other kings, and on its way to Daksināpatha to conquer the southern kings, had come to Navasarı to reduce that country first Thereupon Vallabbanarendra, who must have been Vijayāditya or Vikramādıtya II, the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Daksınāpatha" (Daksināpathasādhāra), "Ornament of the family of Caluka" (Calukakulālamkāra), "Beloved of the earth" (Prthivīvallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakanivartayıtr) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanijanāśraya). As "Tājika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tājika" of a branch of astrology, borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A D. and 750 A. D. by Mahammad Kasım and his successors[6] Navasari was the capital of the Cālukyas of Lāta or southern Gujarat.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarat Cālukyas found at Khera and translated by Prof Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz, Jayasimharāja, Buddhavarmarāja, and Vijayarāja.[7] Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasimha the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasimhavarman, the brother of Vikramāditya I and founder of the Gujarat branch of the dynasty ; for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Cālukya princes with Gujarat The grant, however,

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1 King of modern Sindh.

2 Very likely king of Kaccha

3 King of Anahilpattana of the Cāpotkata race.

4 King of the Maurya race, probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujarat.

5 King of the Gujarat race, ruled over the Broach District.

6 Elphinstone's History of India.

7 JRAS, Vol. I., p. 268.

appears to me to be a forgery [1] The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasimhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarāja must have ruled over another part of Gujarat If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era.

After Vikramāditya I, his son Vinayāditya came to the throne One of his grants is dated Śaka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,[2] another in 613 Śaka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year [3] There is also an Inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occurring in which is 608 Śaka and the seventh year of his reign [4] From these it appears that Vinayāditya came to the throne in 602 Śaka corresponding to A D. 680, in which year his father Vikramāditya must have ceased to reign His latest year is A D 694, but his reign terminated in A. D. 696, as is seen from his son's grants referred to below.

During his father's lifetime, Vinayāditya assisted him in his wars with the Southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, i e Cola, Pāndya, and Kerala, and tranquillizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A D 692—A D 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas, Kalambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mālavas, Colas, Pāndyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Cālukya crown as the Ganga family of Cera and the Alupas, whose loyalty was for the first

1 My reasons are these —(1) Its style is unlike that of the Cālukya grants. (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation. (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, i. e., so many as are prescribed, in the legal treatises (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix rāja, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Cālukya grants. (5) None of the three princes has a title or Biruda as all Cālukya princes from Pulakeśi I downwards had.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p 86.

3 Ibid., pp. 89, 92.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

time secured by Pulakeśi II[1] The kings of Kāvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pārasīkas, who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar, and of Simhala were made tributaries.

He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called Pālidhvaja, the drum called Dhakkā, and others These events must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors[2] A chief of the name of Mahārāja Pogilli of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his, in the South about Mysore[3]

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the Southern kings and his father in the expedition into the North. At one time he was captured by his enemies, though they had been defeated and were retreating Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty.

There is an Inscription at Badami in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmā, Visnu, and Mahesvara were put up at Vātāpipura in Saka 621 and the third year of his reign One of his grants was issued in Saka 622 on the full-moon day of Āsādha and in the fourth year of his reign, another in Śaka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Śaka 651 on the full-moon day of Phālguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.[4] On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 Śaka after the full-moon day of Āsādha corresponding to A D. 696 The first two of these grants, and another which bears no

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1 This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol, VI, p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p 92) and in those of his successors.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol , IX, pp. 127 and 131.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol XIX, p 143.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

date, were found at Nerur in the Savantvadi state.[1] Vijayāditya had a long reign of thirty-six years

After Vijayāditya, his son Vikramāditya II ascended the throne A grant of his, engraved on a stone-tablet, is dated in 656 Saka and in the second year of his reign,[2] wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Saka or A D 733 Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman Vikramāditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tudāka country Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field The Cālukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music

He then entered the city of Kāñcī, but did not destroy it In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brahmans and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Rājasimhesvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king He then fought with the Colas, the Pāndyas, the Keralas, and the Kaḷabhras, and reduced them[3]

Vikramāditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas The elder of these was called Lokamahādevī and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokeśvara, at Pattadakal in the Kaladgi district. The younger's name was Trailokyamahādevī, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyeśvara The latter was the mother of Kīrtivarman the next king[4] Vikramāditya reigned for fourteen years

His son Kīrtivarman II began to reign in 669 Śaka or A D. 747, since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka[5] He assisted his father in his wars with

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 and 131, and JBBRAS, Vol, III, p. 203 et. seq.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107.
3 Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p. 26.
4 Ind. Ant, Vol. X, p 165 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 5.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 27.

the Pallavas On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission The ruler of Kāñcī, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress His power was broken by the Cālukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil

During the reign of this prince the Cālukyas were deprived of their power in Mahārāstra, and the sovereignty of the country passed from their hands into those of the Rāstrakūta princes The main branch of the dynasty became extinct · but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-plate grants issued by the Cālukyas; but Rāstrakūta plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Radhanpur in Northern Gujarat to Samangad near Kolhapur and Nagpur in the Central Provinces The grant of Kīrtivarman II, from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of the greater portion of his kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant

The name of the Rāstrakūta monarch who first humbled the Cālukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Krsna In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Samangad he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha.[1] The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka Before that time, therefore, the Cālukyas must have lost their hold over Mahārāstra. In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, the Cālukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kīrtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Cālukyas

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Cālukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence Ravikīrti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole Inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakeśi II. Vijayāditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapandita or Niravadyapandita, the house pupil of Śrīpūjyapāda, who be-

1 JBBRAS, Vol. II, p. 375.

longed to the Devagana sect of the Mūlasamgha, i e of the Digambara Jainas Niravadyapandita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayāditya's[1] father, i e Vinayāditya Vikramāditya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapandita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant[2] But Jainism in those days, as at the present, probably flourished in the Southern Maratha Country only.

If the Pūjyapāda who was the preceptor of Niravadyapandita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Saka, the date of Vinayāditya's death, i e. about 600 Śaka or 678 A D All that is known about Pūjyapāda and his relations to the Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pūjyapāda

No Inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Cālukya princes But that the religion did prevail, and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries, is shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline

With the decline of Buddhism came the revival of Brahmanism and especially of the sacrificial religion The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit; but we now see them rising into importance Pulakeśi I is mentioned in all the Inscriptions in which his name occurs, as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the Aśvamedha.

I have elsewhere[3] remarked that the names of most of the famous Brahmanical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of Svāmin attached to them, and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore The period of the early Cālukyas appears to be that period

1 Ind Ant, Vol VII p. 112.
2 Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 197
3 *Report on MSS for 1884, pp. 31, 32.*

Amongst the Brahman grantees of these princes we have Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin,[1] Dāsasvāmin the son of Jannasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmi-Dīksita;[2] Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Nāgammasvāmin, another Devasvāmin, Gargasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin,[3] Prabhākarsvamin, Kesavasvāmin,[4] &c There are others whose names have not this title attached to them Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial Sūtras and rites, viz Karkasvāmin, Devasvāmin, and Kesavasvāmin Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Calukyas reigned in Mahārāstra, and probably flourished in the Deccan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries For the revival of Brahmanism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Ṛsis,

And the Purānic side of Brahmanism also received a great development during this period Temples in honour of the Purānic triad, Brahmā, Visnu, and Maheśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places The worship of Śiva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nasik grant of Nāgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kāpalikeśvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show Cave Architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purānic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave temple at Badami dedicated to the worship of Visnu by Mangalīśa The Cālukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions

1 Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 77
2 Ind Ant, Vol. IX, p. 128
3 Ind Ant, Vol IX, p 131
4 JBBRAS, Vol. XVI, pp 237, 239.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY CĀLUKYAS.

1 Jayasimha

2 Ranarāga.

3 Pulakeśi I.—Satyāśraya Śrī Pulakeśi Vallabha

- 4. Kīrtivarman I, Śaka 489—513 or A D. 567—591.
  - 6. Pulakeśi II —Satyāśraya, Śrī Prthvī-vallabha began to reign in Śaka 532 or A D 610 was on the throne in Śaka 556 or A. D 634, and seen by Hwan Thsang in A D 639.
    - Candrāditya.
    - 7. Vikramāditya I, ceased to reign in Śaka 602 or A D 680.
      - 8. Vinayāditya, Śaka 602—619 or A. D 680—697
        - 9. Vijayāditya, Śaka 618—655 or A D 696—733
          - 10. Vikramāditya II, Śaka 655—669 or A D 733—747.
            - 11. Kīrtivarman II, Śaka 669 or A. D 747, deprived of supreme sovereignty by Dantidurga before Śaka 675 or A D. 753
    - Ādityavarman.
    - Jayasimhavarman
  - Visnuvardhana, founded the eastern Cālukya dynasty.
  - Jayasimha.
    - Nāgavardhana
- 5. Mangalīsa, Śaka 513—532 or A D 591-610.

SECTION XI.

THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS

The Rāstrakūtas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadu [1] According to the Wardha plates they were members of the Sātyaki branch of the race; and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Ratta He had a son of the name of Rāstrakūta after whom the family was so called These are clearly imaginary persons, and as remarked before, the Rāstrakūta family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Ksatriyas named Ratthas who gave their name to the country of Mahārāstra and were found in it even in the times of Asoka the Maurya

The Rāstrakūtas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Sātavāhanas and the Cālukyas who established themselves in the Deccan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated

The earliest prince of the dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I But in an Inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Dasāvatāras at Ellora, the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarāja, occur [2] The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather Govinda I was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikīrti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Cālukya king Pulakesi II and to have afterwards become his ally

Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brahmans performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion After him his son Indrarāja came to the throne Indrarāja married a girl who belonged to the Cālukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Rāstrakūtas themselves.

1 Kharepatan plate, JBBRAS, Vol I, p 217, Sangli plates, JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 111., Navasari plates and Wardha plates, JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p. 239 et seq

2 Arch Surv. West Ind, No. 10, pp 92-96

From this union sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karnātaka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kāñcī, the Keralas, Colas, and Pāndyas, and of Śrīharsa, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajrata [1]; and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Cālukya king Kīrtivarman II with ease He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the South [2] He also subdued the kings of Kāñci, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrī-Śaila, [3] Mālava, Lāta, and Tanka At Ujjayinī he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity [4] A grant of Dantidurga found at Samangad in the Kolhapur district bears the date 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A. D. 753 [5]

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Karda,[6] and his paternal uncle Krsnarāja succeeded to the throne Another grant found at Baroda[7] omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings In that grant Krsnarāja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race"

The prince dethroned or destroyed by Krsnarāja could not have been Dantidugra, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family In a grant found at Kavi, and another found in the Navasari district, Krsna is represented

1 The army of Karnātaka was thus the army of the Cālukyas

2 Samangad grant, JBBRAS, Vol II, p 375

3 This must have been the country about Srī-Śaila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikārjuna and which is situated on the lower Kṛṣṇā in the Karnul District, Madras Presidency

4 Arch Surv West Ind, No 10 loc cit

5 Referred to above.

6 JRAS, Vol III

7 Published in JBAS, Vol VIII, pp 292—303,

to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death[1] The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself The statement of the Karda plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence

Krsnarāja, otherwise called Subhatunga and also Akālavarsa, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Cālukyas to complete subjection In two of the grants[2] he is spoken of " as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Cālukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed[3] —an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drawn out from it the Laksmī[4] " of paramount sovereignty He is said to have defeated Rāhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty Who[5] this person was we have not the means of determining

In the Wardha plates Krsnarāja is represented to have constructed many temples of Siva, which resembled the Kailāsa mountain[6] In the Baroda grant it is stated that Krsnarāja "caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elāpura When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it, they were struck with wonder, and constantly thought

1 See stanza 11 (Ind Ant, Vol V, p 146) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्दिव [गते] remains, and lines 15 and 16, JBBRAS, Vol XVIII, p 257, lines 14, 15

2 Vani-Dindori (JRAS., Vol V) and Rādhanpur (Ind Ant., Vol. VI, p 65) grants

3 The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea The story originated from the double sense which the word parvata bears in the Vedas It denotes " a mountain " and " a cloud ' also India was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers.

4 Visnu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakṣmī from it, whom he married.

5 Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p 182, l 13,

6 Loc. cit.

much over the matter saying to themselves, 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; for, such beauty is not to be found in a work of art' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it' King Krsna with his own hands again decorated Śambhu (Siva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies, and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gangā, the moon, and the deadly poison"

The ending pura in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Sirur for Śrīpura, &c The Elāpura of the Inscription, therefore, is Elur; and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailāsa itself[1] Thus it appears that it was Krsnarāja that caused the Kailāsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified Krsnarāja must have reigned

1 Dr Bühler in his paper in Ind, Ant, Vol VI, simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Krṣṇarāja) with the hill at Elapur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva" He has not identified Elāpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered. That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt, but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Dr Buhler was misled by it Dr. Fleet has published a revised translation (Ind Ant., Vol XII, p 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first. He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 124), and now thinks Elāpura is in the passage meant to be represented as Kṛṣṇarāja's "encampments" He identifies Elapura with Yellapur in the North Kanara districts. But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elāpura, and Elurā from Elāpuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elura is meant to be spoken of, and actually the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa Inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion. That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 221, where the reader will find the point fully discussed.

in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era, i e, between 753 and 775 A D

Kṛsnarāja was succeeded by his son Govinda II.[1] Nothing particular is recorded of him in the grants, except, of course, the general praise which is accorded to every prince, however weak and inglorious. It however appears from the Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother, Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. The Wardha grant states that he gave himself up to sensual pleasures, and left the cares of the kingdom to his younger brother Nirupama; and thus allowed the sovereignty to drop away from his hands But subsequently he seems from the Paithan[2] grant to have endeavoured to regain his power with the assistance of the neighbouring princes, when Dhruva vanquished him in a battle and formally assumed the insignia of supreme sovereignty

At the end of a Purāna entitled Harivamśa o' the Digambara Jainas, it is stated that the work was composed by Jinasena in the Śaka year 705 while Vallabha the son of Krsna was ruling over the South Govinda II is in the Kavi and Paithan grants called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva, the second son of Krsna I, was Kalivallabha. Govinda II, therefore, must be the prince alluded to, and he appears thus to have been on the throne in the Śaka year 705, or A D. 783.[3]

Dhruva was an able and warlike prince His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dhārāvarsa. He humbled the Pallava king of Kāñcī and obtained from him

1 The name of this prince is omitted in the Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants, for the same reason apparently as that for which Dantidurga's is omitted in the Baroda grant, but he is alluded to when they state that Dhruva or Nirupama set aside his elder brother.

2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 107.

3 शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम्।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादि (धि) राजेऽपरां
सौर्या (रा)णामधिमण्डले (ल) जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Rajendralal's Skr. MSS, Vol. VI, p. 80, and MSS in the Deccan College Collections.

a tribute of elephants He detained in custody the prince of the Ganga family, which ruled over the Cera country He also carried his arms into the North against the king of the Vatsas, whose capital must have been Kauśāmbī, the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauda country He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Marwar and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gauda king[1] The Jaina Harivamśa represents a Vatsa prince as ruling over the west in Śaka 705 He must have been the same as that vanquished by Nirupama According to the Navasari grant Nirupama took away the umbrella of the king of Kosala also; and in the Wardha plates he is represented as having three white umbrellas A stone Inscription at Pattadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama There he is styled Dhārāvarsa and Kalivallabha[2] The last name occurs also in the Wardha grant and the first in that found at Paithan. This prince does not appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Saka 705 and his son in Śaka 716, the year in which the Paithan charter was issued

Dhruva-Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III The Radhanpur and Vani-Dindori grants were issued by him in the Śaka year 730 corresponding to A D 808[3] while he was at Mayūrakhandī. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nasik territory of the name of Morkhand Whether Mayūrakhaṇḍī was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined Govinda III was certainly one of the greatest of the Rastrakūta princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rāstrakūtas became invincible, as the Yādavas of Purānic history did when under the guidance of Krsna, appears credible Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour; but

1 Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur plates.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 125.

3 The Saṁvatsara or cyclic year given in the first is Sarvajit, the current Śaka year correspondidg to which was 730, while in the second it is Vyaya corresponding to 729 current, As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B.

he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvarāja or prince-regent [1]

When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him, desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Rāstṛakūtas But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy He released the Ganga prince of Cera, who had been kept in custody by his father; but no sooner did he go back to his native country, than he put himself into an attitude of hostility. But Govinda III immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again

Subsequently he marched against the Gurjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Malwa, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhyas When Mārāśarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Śrībhavana, which has not been identified When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tungabhadrā, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kāñcī under a more complete subjection than before Thence he sent a message to the king of Vengi, or the country between the lower Krsnā and the Godāvarī, who probably belonged to the eastern Cālukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant [2]

1 The Kavi grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, i. e when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them. Ind Ant., Vol. V, p 147, v 27 The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants,

2 Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates,

This grand victorious march to the North and the South must have taken place before Śaka 726 or A. D. 804 For, in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kanarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñcī had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tungabhadrā" he allotted some lands to one Śivadhārī at a holy place named Rāmeśvara [1] His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after Śaka 716 past, or 794 A. D., since the Paithan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them.

Govinda III thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Malwa in the North to Kāñcīpura in the South, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadā and Tungabhadrā. The Vani-Dindori plates convey a village situated in the Nasik district, while those found in the Kanarese country assign some land near the Tungabhadrā The province of Lāta, situated between the Mahī and the lower Tāpī, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,[2] who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. Govinda III, as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhūtavarsa or "Raining profusely," Prthvīvallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śrī-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lāta, in Śaka 734 or A. D 812, and the Kavi grant, by Govinda the younger brother of Karka, in Śaka 749 or A. D. 827. We need not notice these princes further, since they belong more to the history of Gujarat than of the Deccan

In several of the grants belonging to this dynasty, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattunga Now, since Govinda III was one of the greatest princes of this dynasty,

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, pp 126-7

2 Kavi plate, Ind. Ant, Vol. V, p. 147, v. 29, Baroda grant JBAS, Vol. VIII. p. 296, v. 21, in which नद्रा ought to be नहत्त as in the Kavi.

it is impossible that he should have been passed over by the writers of these grants Jagattunga, the son of Nirupama, must, therefore, be Govinda himself and no other.

After his death his son Amoghavarṣa, whose proper name appears to have been Śarva,[1] came to the throne. He seems to have marched against the Cālukyas of Vengi and put several of the princes to death[2] In the Navasari grant Amoghavarsa is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled Rājarāja or king of kings and also Vīra-Nārāyana. This last title is justified by the poetic writer of the grant by saying that as the God Nārāyana brought out the earth which was immersed in the ocean, so did Vallabha bring the goddess of sovereignty out of the ocean in the shape of the Cālukyas in which it had sunk. He is also represented to have "burnt" the Cālukyas. These also must be allusions to Amoghavarsa's wars with the Cālukyas of Vengi; and he probably conquered some territory belonging to them.

In the Karda grant the city of Mānyakheta is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in his time. There is little question that it was his capital, but whether it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out from that grant, as the reading given by Mr Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardha plates are clear on the point In them the successor of Jagattunga is called Nrpatunga; and he is represented to have founded the city of Mānyakheta, which "put the city of the Gods" to shame Mānyakheṭa has been properly identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's territory.

In the Kanheri caves there are three Inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsa In one of them Pullaśakti of the Śilāhāra family, and in the other two his son, Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsa. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and

1 Ind. Ant, Vol XII, p 183, l. 25.

2 Sangli plates. But the reading is somewhat corrupt.

799.[1] An Inscription at Sirur in the Dharwar district published by Dr. Fleet is dated Śaka 788, vyaya, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsa;[2] so that the year 799 Śaka of the Kanheri Inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign The cyclic year vyaya corresponds to the Śaka 788 *past* and 789 *current.* This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past.*

In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurāna, or the latter half of the Mahāpurāna, by Gunabhadra, Amoghavarsa is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Gunabhadra, and wrote the Ādipurāna or the first part of the same work[3] Jinasena himself at the end of his poem the Pārsvābhyudaya gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarsa may reign for a long time. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas entitled Jayadhavalā is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Śaka king had elapsed in the reign of Amoghavarsa In the intoductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled Sārasamgraha by Vīrāeārya, Amoghavarsa is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VI, West's copies Nos 15 and 42, Ibid, Vol. XIII, p 11, and Prof. Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant, Vol XIII, p 133 The cyclic year given with 775 is Prajāpati, the current Śaka year corresponding to which however, was 774 Prof Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 expired, i, e. 774 current.

2 Ind. Ant, Vol XII, p 216

3 Several copies of this Purāṇa have been purchased by me for Government. The stanza in which Amoghavarsa is alluded to is this —

यस्य प्रांशुनखांशुजालविसरद्धारान्तराविर्भव-
त्पादाम्भोजरज पिशङ्गमुकुटप्रत्यग्ररत्नद्युति ।
संस्मर्ता स्वममोघवर्षनृपति पूतोहमद्येत्यलं
स श्रीमाञ्जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarsa remembered himself to have been purified that day when tht lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust-pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails ,—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world, "

as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Syādvāda).[1] He is mentioned there also by his other name Nrpatunga The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnottara-ratnamālikā, which has been claimed for Śamkarācārya and one Samkaraguru by the Brahmans, and for Vimala by the Śvetambaras, is attributed to king Amoghavarsa by the Digambara Jainas At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarsa composed the Ratnamālikā after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit[2] in him. There is another Amoghavarsa in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jainas There is a translation of the work in the Tibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarsa, who is represented as a great king. The Tibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner, but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarsa[3]

From all this it appears that of all the Rāstrakūta princes, Amoghavarsa was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas; and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Amoghavarsa's son and successor was Akālavarsa He married the daughter of Kokala, king of Cedi, who belonged to the Haihaya race, and by her had a son named Jagattunga Akālavarsa's proper name was Krsna as is evident from the Navasari grant and also from the Wardha and the Karda plates He is the Krsnarāja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Prthvirāma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Saka year 797 at Saundatti.[4] Another

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1 This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr. K. B Pathak

2 See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, Notes, &c., p. ii. The stanza is

विवेकात्त्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधियां सदलंकृतिः ॥

3 Weber's Indische Streifen, Vol. I., p. 210.

4 JBBRAS., Vol. X., p. 200. The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to Śaka 797 *past*.

Jaina temple was built by a Vaiśya or Bania named Cikārya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Mulgund in the Dharwar district; and in the Inscription which records this fact he is styled Krsna Vallabha.[1]

Krsna or Akālavarsa appears to have been a powerful prince. He is represented as having frightened the Gūrjara, humbled the pride of the Lāta, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Āndhra, Kalinga, Gānga, and Magadha.[2]

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purāna noticed above, was consecrated in Śaka 820, the cyclic year being Pingala,[6] by Lokasena the pupil of Gunadhara, who was the author of the second part. In the historical appendix, " the lofty elephants of Akālavarsa " are represented " to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaumāra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the

1 *Ib.*, p. 192, The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

2 Wardha and Navasari plates, JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII pp. 239-269.

अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयत्यखिलामिलाम् ।
तस्मिन्विध्वस्तनि शेषाद्विषि धधियशोजुषि ॥
धर्म *v l.*
* * * *
शकनृपकालाभ्यन्तरविंशत्यधिकाष्टशतमिताब्दान्ते ।
मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥
* * * *
निष्ठितं भव्यवर्यै
प्राप्तेज्यं शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

" Victorious in the world is this holy Purāna, the essence of the Śāstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]* * * in the year Pingala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Śaka king * * *, while that king Akālavarsa, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (*or* who acquired religious merit and fame) was protecting the whole earth."

The cyclic year year Pingala corresponded to 820 Śaka *current*.

sun did not penetrate."[1] The date 833 Śaka has also been assigned to Akālavarsa.[2] It will have been seen that an Inscription at Saundatti represents Krsnarāja to have been the reigning prince in Śaka 797, while one in the Kanheri caves speaks of his father Amoghavarsa as being on the throne two years later, i e, in 799 This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratnamālikā that the latter had abdicated the throne in his oldage The real reigning prince therefore in Saka 797 and 799 must have been Akālavarsa his son; but the writer of the Kanheri Inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarsa's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes

Akālavarsa's son was Jagattunga But he did not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Kharepatan grant, after Akālavarsa, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akālavarsa's grandson, while Jagattunga is mentioned in another connection below And in the Navasari grant Indra is represented as " meditating on the feet " of Akālavarsa, and not of Jagattunga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akālavarsa But the Wardha grant is explicit It tells us that Jagattunga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having ascended the throne Jagattunga married Laksmī, the daughter of his material uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Ranavigraha in the Sangali and Navasari grants, and Samkaragana in the Karda plates But it will be presently shown that the Karda plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather His title was Nityavarsa according to the Navasari grant, and his son Govinda IV is in the Sangali grant spoken of as " meditating on the feet " of Nityavarsa, which also shows, that that was Indra's title.

1 यस्योत्तुङ्गमतङ्गजा निजमदस्रोतस्विनीसङ्गमा-
द्वाङ्गं वारि कलङ्कितं कटु मुहुः पीत्वाप्यगच्छन्तृषः ।
कौमारं घनचन्दनं वनमपास्यात्युत्तरङ्गानि ते-
मन्दान्दोलितमस्तभास्करकरच्छाय समाशिश्रियन् ॥

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p 109

Nityavarsa is the donor in the Navasari grant He is represented as residing at his capital Mānyakheta, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kadoda on the banks of the Tāpī, for his Pattabandhotsava This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity after having weighed himself against gold. The village conveyed by the Navasari grant is Tenna situated in the Lāta country It has been identified with Tena in the Navasari division of the Baroda State. The grant was issued in Śaka 836 ; so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasari district records the grant of the village of Gumra (identified with the modern Bagumra) by the same prince. The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents mutatis mutandis are exactly the same [1]

From these grants of villages in the Navasari district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lāta, and from the statement in the Wardha plates that Krsna or Akālavarsa humbled the pride of the Lata prince, it appears that the main branch of the Rāstrakūtas reigning at Mānyakheta must have, in Akālavarsa's time, supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujarat, which had been founded in the time of Jagattunga or Govinda III Indra was the reigning monarch in Śaka 838, the cyclic year being Dhātu, as appears from an Inscription published by Dr Fleet [2]

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karda plates. The Sangali grant, however, is clear Indra married a lady rom the Haihaya family of Cedi again Her name was Vijāmbā; [3] and she was the daughter of Anganadeva, the son of

1 JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p 261f

2 Ind Ant., Vol XII, p 224.

3 Dr. Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sangali grant calls her Dvijāmbā, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijāmbā in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijāmbā is Vidyāmbā, Ind Ant, Vol XII, p. 250

Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, mentioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Sangali grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Kharepatan grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named Amoghavarsa[1] The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsa, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne And this is confirmed by the Karda plates also Amoghavarsa and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Ambā, who is the same as the Vijāmbā of the Sangali plate But in the text of the grant Govinda and Ambā form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the lady Govindāmbā, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop king Govinda altogether[2] But the Wardha grant is explicit on the point From it we learn that Amoghavarsa was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if " out of love for him ", and then Govinda came to the throne The Sangali grant of Govinda IV, as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarsa by name; but states that " though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of impurity, but became Sāhasānka by his matchless enterprise and liberty. " What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say But probably Govinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death, and the other accusations referred to were whispered against him; and this is intended as a defence

1 Dr Fleet in his genealogical table at p 109, Vol XI, Ind Ant, speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed But he is named Amoghavarsa in the Kharepatan grant, and also in that of Karda, if properly understood

2 The 14th stanza, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is चैद्यां मातुलशंकरगणात्मजायामभूज्जगत्तुङ्गात् । श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्दाम्बाभिधानायां ॥ Now the first line of this is, as it stands, out of place and must contain some mistakes For, (1) it contains, in substance, a repetition of what we have in the first line of stanza 12, and (2) if it is read here as it is, we shall have to make Ambā a wife of Jagattunga along with Laksmī, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Laksmī's sister, the father of both being Śamkaragaṇa. But Ambā or Vijāmbā is in

The Kharepatan and Wardha grants agree in representing Govinda as a prince addicted to sensual pleasures. The former says that he was "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and was always surrounded by crowds of beautiful women," and the latter, that he was "the source of the sportive pleasures of Love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and his health being undermined, he met with an untimely death" The words used have double senses from which it would appear that the affairs of the state also fell into confusion and hastened his destruction. But the Sangali grant which was issued by him has of course nothing but praise for him. Govinda's other names were Prabhūtavarsa and Suvarnavarsa (raining gold) and probably Sāhasānka also The grant was issued in Śaka 855, or A D. 933, in the Vijaya [1] year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Mānya-

the Sangali grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Aṅganadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Ranavigraha, the father of Laksmī; that is, Ambā was the daughter of Laksmī's first cousin She is also distinctly represented as the wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV. Again, if we take the lines as they are, the result will be that the Karda grant makes no mention of Indra's wife Vijāmbā and of his sons Amoghavarsa and Govinda IV, the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see, for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely Then, again, the Sangali grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattunga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindāmbā And the second line श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्दाम्बाभिधानायाम् । looks as if the intention of the writer of it was to set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsa and of their mother Ambā or Vijāmbā And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV, who, as noticed in the text below, was called Suvarnavarsa by people because he "rained down gold" The name of the prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake, If it were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, i. e., Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sangali grant The emendation I make in the second line is to read न्दो for न्दा and then Ambā would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible There must be other mistakes also in the Karda grant Very probably a verse or two are omitted here, as also after the next stanza, where Krsnarāja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

1 The current Śaka year was 856,

kheṭa. Govinda IV was on the throne in Śaka 841, as appears from an Inscription published by Dr Fleet, in which under the name of Prabhūtavarṣa he is represented as the reigning sovereign.[1] The Inscription, however, is dated 840 Śaka; but from the cyclic year Pramāthin, which is also given, it must be understood that the year meant is 841 Śaka. It will appear from this that Indra or Nityavarṣa, who succeeded his grandfather in Śaka 836, had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amoghavarṣa, could have been on the throne only for a few months Govinda IV, like Amoghavarṣa I, was at war with the Cālukyas of Vengi.[2] Another Inscription represents Govinda IV as the reigning monarch in Śaka 851 [3]

From the Kharepatan plates it appears that Govinda IV was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagattuṅga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage He was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarāja, and after his death his younger brother Khoṭika become king The Karda grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan It states: " When the older brother Kṛṣṇarājadeva went to heaven, Khoṭṭigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarṣa on Kandakadevī, the daughter of Yuvarāja, become king "[4] Here the expression " elder brother " must be taken as related to Khoṭṭigadeva and not to the preceding king,[5] whoever he may have been

1 Ind. Ant., Vol XII, p 222 Dr Fleet however identifies this Prabhūtavarṣa with Jagattuṅga the son of Akālavarṣa or Kṛṣṇa II and father of Nityavarṣa. But as we have seen, Nityavarṣa was on the throne in Śaka 836 and 838, wherefore his father could not have been the reigning prince in Śaka 840 or 841 Besides, as I have shown, Jagattunga did not ascend the throne at all.

2 Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p. 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS for 1883-84, p 48.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol XII, p. 249

4 ऐन्द्रपदाजिगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिरूढे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कृष्णराजदेवे
युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोघवर्षनृपा-
ज्जातः खोट्टिगदेवो नृपतिरभूद्भुवनविख्यात ॥ १५ ॥

5 For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza, and the subject of which is Khoṭṭigadeva. See the passage in the last note.

Khotika therefore was even according to the Karda grant, the younger brother of Krsnarāja. But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsa, while Krsnaraja is spoken of in the Kharepatan plates as the son of Baddiga In an Inscription at Salotgi, Krsnarāja, the son of Amoghavarsa, is represented to have been reigning at Mānyakheta in 867 Śaka,[1] that is, twelve years after the Sangali grant of Govinda IV was issued He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining For the Krsna of these was the second king after Govinda IV. His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been on old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time Hence his son Krsna came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant; and there is no other Krsna mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Saka If, then, the Krsna of the grants is the same as the Krsna of the Salotgi Inscription here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsa, so that the Baddiga of the Kharepatan plates was the same as the Amoghavarsa of the Karda plates Krsnarāja and Khotika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Karda plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers [2]

1 Ind Ant. Vol I, p 205 f The cyclic year given is Plavanga, which followed next after Śaka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870 According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Plavanga in a part of the year 867 Saka expired

2 Dr. Fleet, following Mr Wathen's translation, makes Krsna, whom he calls Kṛṣṇa III, the elder brother of Amoghavarsa and thus a son of Jagattunga But in the Kharepatan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattunga, and in the Wardha plates, as the son of Amoghavarsa, the son of Jagattunga, and was thus a grandson of Jagattunga He is also represented as Khotika's elder brother I have shown in the text that the expression "elder brother", occurring in the Karda grant, should by the rules of construction be taken as referring to Khottiga and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan The Amoghavarsa who was the son of Jagattunga is that spoken of in the sixteenth stanza of the Karda grant, and was different from the one mentioned in the fourteenth, who was the son of Indra and nephew of that Amoghavarsa, as I have shown above Dr Fleet brings in another Krsna and makes him the younger brother of Khoṭika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below) and with

And these points have been placed beyond the possibility of doubt by the Wardha grant After Govinda's death, we are told, the feudatory chiefs entreated Amoghavarsa the son of Jagattunga, who was "first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power He was assisted in the government by his son Krsna, who, though but a crown-prince, wielded very great

the Krsna whose dates range from Śaka 867 to 878. What his authority is I do not know But the Kharepatan grant mentions one Kṛṣṇa only, the elder brother of Khotika and son of Baddiga The Karda also mentions one only, and as to his relation with the other princes, I have shown that that grant agrees with the Kharepatan plates The Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 867 to 878 is to be identified with the elder brother of Khotika and is not to be considered a different prince unalluded to in the grants. Nirupama, the younger brother of Khotika, is not and cannot have been this Kṛṣṇa, because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khotiga was called Krsna, and he too could not have been called by the same name, Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Karda plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Kakka, who was a reigning prince, and in the Kharepatan grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Kakkala is said to be the son of the brother of Khoṭika. Kṛṣṇa, on the other hand, was on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka according to the stone Inscriptions Again if Khotika was the elder brother of this Nirupama-Krsna it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Śaka, while Krsna should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Saka, that is, before his elder brother Krsna, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Kharepatan grant, and Khoṭika the younger. Dr. Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates —"Koṭṭiga or Khottiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his Inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Krṣṇa IV, viz, there being no probability of Kottiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Krsna IV was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kakka III"—(Ind Ant., Vol. XII, p. 255) This supposition is not supported by any circumstance, on the contrary it is utterly discountenanced by the Inscriptions of Krsṇa which represent him to be the 'Supreme king of great kings," (Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p. 258), and to have been reigning at the time at Mānyakheta and governing the kingdom (Ind Ant, Vol I, p. 210) Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as Yuvarāja Thus there were not two Krsṇas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarsa, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Wardha grant, i e., 862 Śaka and the latest 881 that of the Yaśastilaka He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Balotgi and other stone Inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873 and 878 Śaka. Khoṭiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest,

power The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished; he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Gāṅga prince; and planted what appears to be a colony of the Āryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the South, the Gūrjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālanjara and Citrakūṭa in the North, had to give up the enterprize All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himālaya and Simhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne The Wardha plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nagpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Kṛsnarāja, who is also called Akālavarsa, in the name of his brother Jagattunga to a Brahman of the Kānva school of the white Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Śaka 862, corresponding to 940 A D, the cyclic year being Śārvari. This prince is called Sri-Vallabha also in the grant

Kṛsnarāja was the reigning monarch in Śaka 873 and 878.[1] At the end of a Jaina work called Yaśastilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Caitra when 881 years of the era of the Saka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhārthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Krsnarājadeva. Krsnarājadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pāndyas, Simhala, the Colas, the Ceras and others.[2] Khotika, his brother, was on the throne in Śaka 893 Prajāpati.[3]

Khotika was succeeded, according to the Kharepatan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother The name of this brother was Nirupama, according to the Karda grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Cālukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Deccan passed from the hands of the Rāstrakūṭas once more into those of the Cālukyas The Karda grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Śaka 894 or A D. 972. And another Inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896

1 Ind Ant., Vol XII, p 257, and Vol XI, p. 109.

2 Prof. Peterson's Report, loc. cit.

3 Ind. Ant, Vol. XII, p. 255.

current,[1] the cyclic year being Śrīmukha. But in this year or Śaka 895 past Tailapa attained sovereign powers[2] The Rāstrakūtas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A. D. 748 to A D. 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years.

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Elura still attest their power and magnificence Under them the worship of the Purānic gods rose into much greater importance than before The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them, we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Siva and Visnu Several of the grants of these Rāstrakūta princes praise their bounty, and mention their having constructed temples Still, as the Kanheri Inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsa I show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Cālukya period, or even made greater progress Amoghavarsa was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it; and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Cālukya princes, those of the Rāstrakūṭas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature, possessing the same merits and faults The Rāstrakūtas, therefore, must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service One of the three Krsnas belonging to

1 Ind. Ant , Vol. XII, p. 270.

2 The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates is Angiras, the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 895.

the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halāyudha entitled the Kavirahasya, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational pecularities between roots having the same external form He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Daksināpatha [1] Prof. Westergaard, however, thought him to be the Krsnarāja of the Vijayanagara dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century But in the Kavirahasya he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the Rāstrakūta race," [2] and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar race," [3] which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagara prince.

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharās who ruled at a place called Mankir The name of the city would show that the Rāstrakūtas, whose capital was Mānyakheta or Mankhed, were meant. But Balharā, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Rāstrakūtas But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Rāstrakūtas appear clearly to have assumed the title of Vallabha which was used by their predecessors the Cālukyas. We have seen that Govinda II is called Vallabha in two grants, Amoghavarsa I in a third, and Krsna III in a fourth In an Inscription on a stone tablet at Laksmesvara, Govinda III is called Śrī-Vallabha,[4] while

1 अस्त्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दाक्षिणापथे ।
कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्यदीक्षित ॥

"In Daksiṇāpatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Kṛṣṇarāja who was crowned as a paramount sovereign"

2 तोलयत्यतुल शक्त्या यो भारं भुवनेश्वर ।
कस्त तुलयति स्थाम्ना राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Rāstrakūta race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden"

3 सोम सुनोति यज्ञेषु सोमवंशाविभूषण ।

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices."

4 Ind Ant, Vol XI, p. 156.

in the Radhanpur plates he is spoken of as Vallabha-narendra. In the Sangali and Karda grants also the reigning king is styled Vallabha-narendra, while in other Inscriptions we find the title Pṛthivivallabha alone used. Now Vallabha-narendra means "the king Vallabha," and is the same as Vallabharāja, the words rāja(n) and narendra both denoting "a king" Vallabha-rāja should, by the rules of Prakrit or vernacular pronunciation, become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaha-rāy, or Balha-rāy This last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabs.

The genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is shown in the following table :—

1. Dantivarman.
2. Indra I
3. Govinda I.
4. Karka I.

5 Indra II — 7. KṚṢṆA I. Akālavarṣa, or Śubhatuṅga.

6 DANTIDURGA (675 Ś) [under 5 Indra II]

8. GOVINDA II (705 Ś) — 9 DHRUVA, Nirupama, or Dhārāvarṣa. [sons of 7 Kṛṣṇa I]

10. GOVINDA III Jagattunga I, or Prabhūtavarṣa (716, 726 & 730 Ś) — Indra. [sons of 9 Dhruva]

Karka. (724 Ś) — Govinda. (749 S.) [sons of Indra] — Gujarat Branch.

11 ŚARVA NṚPATUNGA or Amoghavarṣa I (759, 773, 788 & 799 Ś)

12 Kṛṣṇa II or Amoghavarṣa I. (797, 820, 824 & 833 Ś)

Jagattunga.

13 INDRA III or Nityavarṣa (836 & 838 Ś) — 16 BADDIGA or Amoghavarṣa III

14 AMOGHAVARṢA II — 15 GOVINDA IV (841, 851 & 855 Ś) [sons of 13 Indra III]

17 KṚṢṆA III or Akālavarṣa (862, 867, 873, 878 & 881 Ś) — 18. KHOTIKA (893 Ś) — *Nirupama* [sons of 16 Baddiga]

19 KAKKALA, Karka II, or Amoghavarṣa IV. (894 & 895 Ś) [son of Nirupama]

(*a*) The names of those who were supreme sovereigns in the Deccan are printed in capitals

(*b*) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters

(*c*) The order of succession is represented by the numbers.

(*d*) The names of those who did not ascend the throne at all, have been printed in Italics,

SECTION XII.

THE LATER CĀLUKYAS.

We left the history of the kings of the Cālukya race at Kīrtivarman II. Between him and Tailapa—who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Deccan from Kakkala, the last of the Rāstrakūta kings—the Mīraj copperplate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings. Kīrtivarman ascended the throne in Śaka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 Śaka.[1] We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895, i. e., for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much.

This was the darkest period in the history of the Cālukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept Where the dynasty reigned and what the extent of its power was, cannot be satisfactorily determined in the absence of the usual contemporary evidence, viz., Inscriptions There must have been several branches of the Cālukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch. I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct For, the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hārīti, and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mānavya race; while these later Cālukyas traced their pedigree to Satyāśraya only, and those two names do not occur in their Inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his command, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kīrtivarman II and Tailapa. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Cālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them.

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1 JBAS, Vol. IV, p. 4.

In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 735 found in Mysore a Cālukya prince of the name of Vimalāditya, the son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III, the Rāstṛakūta king, at the request of Cākirāja of the Ganga family, the maternal uncle of Vimalāditya.[1] These three Cālukya names do not occur in tha usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch.

Another independent off-shoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dharwar In the Kanarese Bhārata written in 863 Śaka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arikesarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows.—

Yuddhamalla
|
Arikesarin
|
Narasimha
|
Dugdhamalla.
|
Baddiga
|
Yuddhamalla
|
Narasimha
|
Arikesarin

At the end of a work entitled Samksepaśārīraka, the author Sarvajñātman, the pupil of Suresvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Śamkarācārya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Ksatriya race, the Āditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."[2] This description would apply with propriety to

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 2

2 श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरज सपर्कपूताशय
सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवर संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।

such a king as Ādityavarman, Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, or Vikramāditya II of the early Cālukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Ādityas of the race of Manu". For the Mānavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu" But Śamkarācārya is said to have lived between Śaka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramāditya II, the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Śaka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Śamkarācārya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñātman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kirtivarman II and Tailapa He may be Vikramāditya, the third prince after Kīrtivarman II,[1] but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Śamkarācārya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Cālukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Colas[2] and humbled the king of Cedi[3] He despatched an expedition into Gujarat, under a general of the name of Bārapa, against Mūlarāja, the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed; but according to the Gujarat chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter[4] Someśvara, the author of the Kīrtikaumudī, speaks of Bārapa as the general of the Lāta, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country.[5]

Tailapa invaded Malwa also, which at this time was governed by Muñja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrāditya, crossed the

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चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्धनामिदं राजन्यवश्ये नृपे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

The Deveśvara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Śamkarācārya.

1 See the genealogy at the end of this Section.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 17.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 15.

4 Rāsa Mālā, Chap IV, p 38, new Ed.

5 Kīrtikaumudī, II. 3.

Godāvarī with a large army. He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner. At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor; but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded.[1] This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's Inscriptions.[2] Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years.[3] One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saunḍatti[4] in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 Śaka or A. D 980.

Tailapa married Jākabbā, the daughter of the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyāśraya and Daśavarman.[5] The former succeeded him in 919 Śaka or A D 997 Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the Inscriptions. The Kharepatan grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in Śaka 930 by a dependent chief of the Śilāhāra family which ruled over southern Konkan.[6]

Satyāśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramāditya I,[7] the son of his younger brother Daśavarman by his wife Bhagavatī The earliest of his Inscriptions is dated Śaka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor. He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, i. e, in 1008 A. D, and appears to have reigned for only a short time[8]

He was succeeded by his brother Jayasiṁha or Jagadekamalla, who in an Inscription dated 941 Śaka, i. e, 1019 A D, is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Malwa and is styled "the moon of the

1 Merutuṅga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacaritra by Rājavallabha.

2 JRAS, Vol IV, p 12, and Ind Ant, Vol. XXI, p. 168.

3 JRAS, Vol IV, p 4

4 JBBRAS, Vol X, p 210

5 Miraj plates, JRAS, Vol. III, p. 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 15-17.

6 JBBRAS, Vol. I, p 209

7 I call him Vikramāditya I, and not Vikramāditya V, as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above. I shall call Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya II, and so on

8 JRAS, Vol IV, p. 4.

lotus which was King Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him.[1] He is also spoken of as having beaten the Colas and the Ceras. The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, i e, in Śaka 946, when "after having subdued the powerful Cola, the lord of the Dramila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at Kolhapur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them."[2] The latest date of this prince is Śaka 962[3]

Jayasimha ceased to reign in 962 Śaka, or 1040 A. D, and was succeeded by his son Someśvara I, who assumed the titles of Āhavamalla and Trailokyamalla As usual with the Cālukya princes, the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Colas[4] He is then represented by Bilhana to have marched against Dhārā, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city These hostilities with the king of Malwa seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place It is narrated in the Bhojacaritra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Deccan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by him, and finally executed him[5] Bhoja, who ruled over Malwa for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died.

Muñja was on the throne in 994 A D,[6] while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A D He must therefore have been slain

1 Ind Ant, Vol V, p 17

2 Loc cit Dramila is another form of Dravida There is some mistake here in the original The letters are य चंद्रमिळाधिपति Dr Fleet takes य as one word and चंद्रमिळाधिपति as another, but य cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown The first word must be यच, a mistake for some such word as न्यच, "down," "below," and the second Dramilādhipatim.

3 Ind Ant, Vol XIX, p. 164

4 Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅka Caritra, I, 90, JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 13.

5 Bhojacaritra, I. 50-56.

6 My Report on the search for MSS. during 1882-83, p. 45.

by the latter between 994 and 997 A. D, and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa But the wars of Jayasimha and Someśvara I with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacaritra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Malwa formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Cālukyas Perhaps he captured Vikramāditya I, of whom we know so little, and put him to death It was probable on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the Inscription dated 941 Saka

After some time Somesvara attacked Cedi or Ḍāhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karna [1] King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karna had formed a confederacy with Bhīmadeva I of Gujarat with a view to attack Malwa from two sides, and sacked Dhārā after his death.[2] Bilhana next represents the Cālukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast, probably the western These he conquered, and having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Dravidas or Colas attacked him, but was defeated. Somesvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kāñcī, which he captured, and the Cola king had to flee away to save his life.[3] Āhavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Colas are alluded to in an Inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kānyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.[4]

Āhavamalla or Somesvara founded the city of Kalyāna and made it his capital Bilhana mentions the fact,[5] and the name of

1 Bilhaṇa's Vikr, I, 102-103
2 Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha, Rāsa Mālā, VI, p 69, new Ed.
3 Vikr Ca, I, 107-116
4 Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p. 19
5 Bilhaṇa's Vikr Ca, II, 1 The natural construction appears to be to take प्रग्र्यं "most excellent" as an attributive adjective, not predicative, and take चकार as the predicate. The sense then will be. "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalyāṇa."

the city does not occur in any Inscription of a date earlier than 975 Śaka, when Someśvara was reigning [1] In the course of time three sons were born to Āhavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Someśvara, the second Vikramāditya, and the third Jayasimha [2] The ablest of these was Vikramāditya, and Āhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of Yuvarāja or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother; but Bilhana tells us he declined the honour [3] Somesvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramāditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles

The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Colas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom The king of Malwa, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramāditya's assistance That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne [4] Vikramāditya is said to have invaded the Gauda country or Bengal and Kāmarūpa or Assam [5] In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered [6] The king of Simhala submitted to him at his approach; [7] then he took the city of Gangakunda and proceeded to the country of the Colas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains Vikramāditya then entered Kāñcī and plundered it, and thence directed his march to Vengi, and to Cakrakota [8]

While Vikramāditya was so employed, Āhavamalla was seized with a strong fever When he observed his end approaching, he

1 See Dr Fleet's remarks on the point, Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 105 The word Kalyāna occurring in the Salotgi Inscription (Ind Ant, Vol I, p. 210) is also, like that in Kīrtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Mr Pandit and Dr Buhler have done.

2 Bilhana's Vikr Ca, II, 57-58 and 85, III 1, 25

3 Ib, III, 26–32, 35–41, and 48–54

4 Ib, III, 55–67.

5 Ib, III, 74

6 Ib., IV, 2, 18.

7 Ib, IV, 20.

8 Ib, IV, 21-30. For the situation of Vengi, see supra, Section X.

caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā. He bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself.[1] This event must have taken place in Saka 991, corresponding to 1069 A D.[2] Āhavamalla, according to Bilhana, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.[3] On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them [4]

Somesvara, the eldest son of Āhavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla Vikramāditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Vengi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramāditya made over to him all the spoils he had won in the course of his conquests, and for some time there was a good understanding between the brothers. But Someśvara was a weak and tyrannical prince He oppressed his subjects and lost their affection He would not be guided by the counsels of wiser and better men; and the kingdom of Kuntala lost a good deal of its importance and influence Vikramāditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasimha and a large army.[5] Somesvara II sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramāditya with great slaughter.[6]

The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Colas On the way he stopped at Banavāsī, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Malaya Jayakeśi is repre-

1 Bilhana's Vikr Ca IV, 46-68 This mode of death is known by the name of Jalasamādhi

2 JRAS, Vol IV, p 4

3 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca, I, 97-99 IV, 52

4 Ib., I, 88

5 Ib, IV, 88-119 V, I

6 Ib, V, 5-8

sented to have submitted to Vikramāditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies" [1] Jayakesi appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who, in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Dr Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Cālukya and Cola kings, and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital Vikramāditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahādevī in marriage to his grandson, who also was called Jayakesi; and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Deccan raised the dignity of the family [2]

The king of the Alupas [3] also rendered his obeisance to the Cālukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabar, and turned towards the country of the Dravidas or Colas Being informed of this, the Cola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Cola he fell back on the Tungabhadrā, where tha prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance. [4]

Some time after, the king of the Colas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom When the Cālukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kāñcī, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to suppress his enemies and render his position secure A short time after his return to the Tungabhadrā, however, Rājiga, the king of Vengi, observing that the nobility of the Cola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country To embarass Vikramāditya and prevent his descent on Kāñcī, Rājiga incited his brother Someśvara II to attack him from behind Vikramāditya, however,

1 Ib, V, 10 18-25

2 JBBRAS, Vol IX, pp 242, 268, 279

3 See supra, Section X.

4 Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ca, V 26-29, 46 56, 60, 73, 79-89.

marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Dravida forces, Someśvara overtook him in his rear He had a very large army, which was well equipped[1] Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Somesvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulation, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow[2] But Vikramāditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both Then a bloody battle ensued Vikramāditya proved victorious, the new king of the Dravidas fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner The Cālukya prince then returned to the Tungabhadrā, and after some hesitation dethroned Somesvara and had himself crowned king To his younger brother Jayasimha he assigned the province of Banavāsī[3] These events took place in the cyclic year Nala, Śaka 998, or A D. 1076.[4]

Vikramāditya II then entered Kalyāna and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years[5] He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Paramardirāya also He abolished the Saka era and established his own, but it fell into disuse not long after his death Some time after his accession, he went to Karahātaka or Karhad and married the daughter of the Śilāhāra king who reign-

1 Ib, VI, 7-54

2 Ib, VI, 56-61

3 Ib, VI, 90-93, 98-99

4 JRAS, Vol. IV, p 4, Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 189 The current Śaka year was 999 Dr Fleet thinks that the festival of his Pattabandha or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the Nala year, in an Inscription at Vadageri, was the annual festival But this is a mere assumption One would expect in such a case the word vārṣikotsava The utsava or festival spoken of must be that which followed the ceremony The date in this Inscription refers to the grant, and does not, in my opinion, show at all the day on which the coronation ceremony took place All we can gather from this Inscription and that at Araleśvara is that the Nala Saṁvatsara was the first year of his reign.

5 JRAS, Vol IV, p. 14.

ed at the place. Her name was Candralekhā and she was a woman of rare beauty Bilhana represents her to have held a Svayamvara where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Cālukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck. Whether the Svayamvara was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide Candralekhā is spoken of in the Inscriptions as Candaladevī, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses [1]

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavāsi, began to meditate treason against him He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Dravida king and other chiefs, and even endevoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramāditya's troops When the king heard of this, he made several attempts to dissuade his brother from his evil course, but they were of no avail, and in a short time Jayasimha came with his numerous allies and his large army and encamped on the banks of the Kisnā He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners, and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama [2] The king then marched against him at the head of his forces As he approached the river he was harassed by the enemy's skirmishers, but driving them away he encamped on the banks [3] He surveyed his brother's army and found it to be very large and strong Then a battle ensued At first the elephants of the enemy advanced and spread confusion in the ranks of Vikrama All his elephants, horses, and men turned backwards, but with remarkable bravery the king rushed forward on the back of his maddened elephant, dealing heavy blows right and left The elephants of the enemy were driven back and the king killed a great many of his soldiers The army was defeated and Jayasimha and his followers fled away. Vikrama dit not pursue the enemy, but took the elephants, horses,

1 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 15, and Bilhana's Vikr. Ca, VIII—XI

2 Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ca. XIV, 1-13, 18, 49-56,

3 Ib., XIV, 57, 70, 71.

women, and baggage left on the battle-field, and returned to his capital After a time Jayasimha was caught skulking in a forest and brought to Vikramāditya, who, however is represented to have pardoned him [1]

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign, his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yādava family reigning at Dvārasamudra, the modern Halebid in Mysore, and with him were associated the kings of the Pāndya country, Goa, and Konkan This Hoysaḷa prince must have been Visnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballāḷa and the grandson of Vinayāditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence For, in the Inscription of Vīra Ballāḷa, the grandson of Visnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Visnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capial and Belvola and washed his horses with the waters of the Krsnā-Venā. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramāditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'"[2] Vikramāditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Āca or Ācagi, whose territory lay to the south. Āca, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysaḷa, took Gove, put to flight Laksma in war, valorously followed after Pāndya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."[3] Āca must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Maru, Gūrjara, Māḷava, Cera, and Cola (subject) to his sovereign."[4] Vikramāditya himself had to take the field against the Cola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital [5]

1 Ib, XV, 23, 41-42, 55-71, 85 87

2 Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300. Dr Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus colloocated —नृपेषु असाध्यतया होय्सलम् अवधारय इति परमर्दिदेवनृपते प्रत्युपचारं य नियुक्तैः मुहुः स्मार्यते ।

3 JBBRAS, Vol. XI, p. 244. Poysala and Hoysaḷa are one and the same word.

4 Ib, p. 269.

5 Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ca, XVII, 43-68.

Vikramāditya II constructed a large temple of Visnu and had a tank dug in front of it In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikrama pura.[1] He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhaṇa, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture."[2] That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kāśmirian Pandit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyāpati or chief Pandit. Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Maratha country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya and lived at Kalyāna. At the end of most Manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows[3]:

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyāna; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramārka seen or heard of; and—what more?—Vijñaneśvara, the Pandit, does not bear comparison with any other[4] (person) May this triad which is like a celestial creeper[1] exist to the end of the Kalpa!

1 Ib., XVII, 15, 22, 29, and JRAS, Vol IV, p. 15.

2 Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ca, XVII, 6, 36-37.

3 See Dr. Buhler's article on the subject in JBBRAS, Vol IX, p 134.

4 Dr. Buhler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किं चान्यद्-स्थोपमां कल्पस्थं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेव त्रयम् । The Doctor connects कल्पस्थ with किं चान्यत् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñāneśvara" To mean "nothing else," किं चान्यत् must be किमप्यन्यत्; and in this construction पण्डितो, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते. Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison," &c., for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away, the other half still remains, and what it will produce but has not yet produced, cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्थम् or "existing in the Kalpa" The only proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed

"May the Lord of wisdom[2] live as long as the sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which distil honey, and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,[3] contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body.

"May the lord Vikramāditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are refulgent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves[4] of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean"

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis, and as mere conventionalities, still the language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler,

edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किंचान्यदन्योपमामाकल्पं. Instead of ची, there must be चा here And this is the reading of a Manuscript of the Mitāksarā, dated Samvat 1535 and Śaka 1401, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government The reading is to be translated as in the text

1 Like the celestial creeper in so far as the triad satisfies all desires.

2 Dr Bühler reads तत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative. The vocative does not look natural here The Bombay lithographed edition and my Manuscript have विज्ञाननाथ the nominative Instead of तत्र the former has तज्ज्ञ and the latter तत्त्व. I have adopted this last The author has here taken the name Vijñānesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the object तत्त्व or "truth," the whole meaning "the lord of the knowledge of truth"

3 Dr Buhler's reading here is ज्ञातार्थानामतिशययुजामर्थिसार्थार्थनायाः. Here अर्थनायाः cannot make any sense, it ought to be अर्थिताया, which the lithographed edition and my Manuscript have The latter reads the whole line thus :— ज्ञातार्थानामतिशययुजामर्थिसार्थार्थिता(ता)या[ ]. There is another या after this, which is redundant

4 The reading of the epithet of the "Western Ocean" is corrupt in all the three I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चटुलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिंगत्तरङ्गात् to चटुलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिङ्गत्तरङ्गात् and of my Manuscript to तुङ्गवृत्यत्तरङ्गात् The root रिङ्ग् is used in connection with waves (see B. & R s Lexicon *sub voce*)

and the great Pandita, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held a high office From this and from the description given by Bilhaṇa, as well as from Vikramāditya's Inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Cālukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

Vikramāditya II was succeeded in Śaka 1048 and in the cyclic year Parābhava (A D 1127) by his son Someśvara III, who assumed the title of Bhūlokamalla[1] He had a short reign of about 11 years He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Āndhra, Dravila, Magadha, Nepāḷa; and to have been lauded by all learned men"[2] This last praise does not seem to be undeserved; for we have a work in Sanskrit written by Someśvara entitled Mānasollāsa or Abhilasitārtha-Cintāmani, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given The book is divided into five parts In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom; in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it; in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm; in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure; and in the fifth, sports or amusements Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c Under the second head are described what are called the seven angas, i e, the ideal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c. The diversions are—military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields

1 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 15. The current Śaka year corresponding to Parābhava was 1049.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XI, p 268

or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants and dogs, &c. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of Sarvajñabhūpa[1] or the "all-knowing king." In the Mānasollāsa, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the month of Caitra, one thousand and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being Saumya, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Cālukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śāstras,[2] and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth."[3] This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

Someśvara III or Bhūlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year Kālayukti,[4] Śaka 1060 or A. D. 1138, by his son Jagadeka-

1 Ib., pp. 259 and 268.

2 That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean.

3 एकपञ्चाशदधिके सहस्रे शरदां गते ।
शकस्य सोमभूपाले सति चालुक्यमण्डने ॥
समुद्ररसनामुर्वीं शासति क्षतविद्विषि ।
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वस्वपाथोधिकलशोद्भवे ॥
सौम्यसंवत्सरे चैत्रमासादौ शुक्रवासरे ।
परिशोधितसिद्धान्तलब्धा स्युर्ध्रुवका इमे ॥

4 The Siddhārthin Saṁvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding Kālayukti (Śaka 1060) must have been the first. The current Śaka year was 1061. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 141. There are several Inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Jayasiṁha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Jayasiṁha began to reign in Śaka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II, and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

malla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II, Nurmaḍi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in Śaka 1072, Pramoda Samvatsara.[1]

During these two reigns the power of the Cālukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjana of the Kalacuri race, who held the office of Dandanāyaka or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs Vijayārka, the Mahāmandaleśvara of Kolhapur, was one of those who assisted him,[2] and Prolarāja of the Kākateya dynasty of Tailangana, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause[3] He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Śaka 1079 or A D. 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyāna and fled to Annigeri in the Dharwar district, which now became the capital of his kingdom, greatly reduced in extent. There is an Inscription dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjana's name, the cyclic year being Īśvara; and the next Samvatsara, Bahudhānya, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.[4] He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Śaka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II, who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and established himself at Banavāsī.[5] The latest year of his reign mentioned in the Inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being Pārthiva, which was current next after Śaka 1087.[6]

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1 For the Yuva Saṁvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Śaka 1077 In Pramoda, 1073 was the current Śaka year and 1072 years had expired, Pali, Sans and old Can. Ins. No 181.

2 Grant of Bhoja II of Kolhapur, Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc Vol. III. See Section XVI

3 He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Cālukya sovereign. Ins of Rudradeva, Ind. Ant, Vol XI, pp., 12-13, lines 27-30.

4 P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos. 219 and 182.

5 JRAS, Vol IV, p. 16.

6 P S & O. C Ins. No. 140.

For some time there was an interruption in the Cālukya power, and the Kalacuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty. But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingāyata creed and the assassination of Vijjana considerably weakened the power of the Kalacuris, and about the Śaka year 1104, Someśvara, the son of Nurmadi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power, to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one.[1] Bomma is represented in an Inscription at Annigeri dated Śaka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalacuris and restored the Cālukyas to the throne.[2] But a short time after, the Yādavas of the south rose under Vīra Ballāla, and of the north, under Bhillama. They both fought with Bomma; but success at first attended the arms of Vīra Ballāla, who subdued the Cālukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.[3] We lose trace of Vīra Soma or Someśvara IV after Śaka 1111.

The Cālukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1182, Raudra Saṁvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravan, a village in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District[4] The donor Keśava Mahājani was the minister of a Mahāmandaleśvara or chief of the name of Kāṁvadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Cālukya race". He is also called Kalyānapuravarādhīśvara "Lord of Kalyāna the best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs[5] simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyāna. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravātaka,

1 JRAS, Vol. IV, p 16, Ind. Ant, Vol II, p 300, l. 29.

2 JRAS, Vol. IV, p 16

3 Ind Ant, Vol II, p. 300, ll 29-30

4 Published in JRAS, Vol V, in JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 105, and Memoir, Savantwadi State, Govt. Rec No X.

5 See Infra, Section XVI.

identified with Teravan itself, from which it would appear that Kāmvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an Inscription in the temple of Ambābāi at Kolhapur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Cālukya family and reigned at Samgameśvara, which is twelve kośas to the north-east of Ratnagiri Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of the last was Karnadeva [1] Probably the Kāmvadeva of the Teravan grant belonged to this branch of the family There are still Maratha families of the name of Chāḷke reduced to poverty in the Samgameśvara Taluka or in the vicinity

1 JBBRAS, Vol. II, p. 263

SECTION XIII.

THE KALACURIS.

THE earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Mangalīsa of the early Cālukya dynasty. Vinayāditya is represented in one of his Inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas; and Vikramāditya II married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family [1] The later Rāstrakūta princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas This family known also by the name of Kalacuri or Kulacuri [2] ruled over Cedi or the country about Jabbalpore. The Kalacuris of Kalyāna must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjana was Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara or "Lord of the best city of Kālañjara "[3] Kālañjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Cedi [4] and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyāna branch of the Kalacuris with the Cedi family This branch was founded by Krsna, who in the Belgaum grant [5] is spoken of as "another Krsna," the incarnation of Visnu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood" He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and Jogama by his son Paramardin

Paramardin was the father of Vijjana Vijjana before his usurpation called himself only a Mahāmandaleśvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III [6]. The manner in which he drove away Taila III from Kalyāna, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state, gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described But

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1 Supra, Section X.

2 See grant published in Arch Surv. West Ind, No 10.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. IX p. 330, No. 50.

4 Bilhaṇa's Vikr Ca, XVIII, p. 93 Karṇa seems to be represented here to have conquered Kālañjara.

5 JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p 270.

6 Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. 119.

soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyāṇa, and Vijjana and his family succumbed to it

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava A work in Kanarese entitled Basava Purāṇa gives an account of Basava, but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical On the other hand there is another work entitled Vijjalarāyacarita, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Liṅgāyatas were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies

Basava was the son of a Brahman named Mādirāja, who lived at Bagevadi in the Kaladgi district Baladeva, the prime minister of Vijjana, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage [1] After Baladeva's death the king appointed Basava his prime minister as being closely related to Baladeva [2] The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmāvatī, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress [3], and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and became a man of influence There must be some truth in this story, for the Basava Purāṇa narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nīlalocanā in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava.[4] Basava had another sister named Nāgalāmbikā, who had a son named Cenna-Basava or Basava the younger In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Siva, in which the Linga and the Nandin or bull were prominent He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jangamas, who led a profligate life Vijjana had another minister named Mañcannā, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of

1 Basava Purāṇa, JBBRAS, Vol VIII, p 67

2 JBBRAS, Vol VIII, p 69

3 Ibid, p 97 Sir W Elliot's paper, JRAS, Vol IV, p 20.

4 JBBRAS, Vol VIII, p. 70

his rival's embezzlements [1] In the course of time Vijjana was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjana advanced in person But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister Basava was allowed to return to Kalyāna and re-instated in his office [2] There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time, the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death The circumstances that immediately led to the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated are thus stated in the Basava Purāna

At Kalyāna there were two pious Lingāyatas named Halleyaga and Madhuveyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava Vijjana, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in thir master's house Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalyāna and left the town Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommava, went straight to the palace of the king; and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjana. Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons, proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants, the race of Vijjana was extinct, Kalyāna was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced by Basava was verified Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Samgamesvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhā with the Kisnā, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body [3]

1 Ibid, pp 78 and 89

2 JRAS, Vol IV, p 21 JBBRAS, Vol VIII, p 89

3 JBBRAS, Vol VIII, p 96, Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, pp. 309 310.

The account given by the Jainas is different Vijjana had gone on an expedition to Kolhapur to reduce the Silāhāra chief Bhoja II to subjection In the course of his march back to the capital, he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhīmā, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent to him a Jangama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit Vijjana, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest, and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless His son Immadi Vijjana and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose Vijjana, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while, and knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death Immadi Vijjana gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jangamas, wherever found, executed[1] On hearing of this, Basava fled, and being pursued went to the Malabar coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi[2] The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nīlāmbā put an end to her existence by drinking poison When Vijjana's son was pacified, Cenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour[3] He now became the sole leader of the Lingāyatas, but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect In him the Pranava or sacred syllable Om is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vīra Śaiva faith to Basava,[4] and, according to the Cenna-Basava Purāna, "Cenna-Basava was Siva, Basava, Visabha (or Śiva's bull, the Nandin), Bijjala, the door-keeper, Kalyāna, Kailāsa, (and) Śiva worshippers (or Lingāyatas), the Siva host (or the troops of Siva's attendants)"[5]

Vijjana's death took place in Saka 1089 (1090 current), or A D 1167 He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or Somesvara The Belgaum copper-plate charter was

1 Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p 320

2 JRAS, Vol IV, p 22

3 Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p 320

4 Ibid., p 311

5 JBBRAS, Vol VIII, p 127.

issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika in Śaka 1096, the cyclic year being Jaya, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brahmans and the god Somesvara made by one of his queens named Bāvaladevī The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang, on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall

Soma reigned till Saka 1100 and was followed by his brother Samkama, whose Inscriptions come down to the cyclic year Subhakit In an Inscription at Baḷagāmve, the cyclic year Vikārin (S 1101) is called the third of his reign,[1] while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth[2] In other Inscriptions we have two names Samkama and Āhavamalla, and the cyclic years Sārvarin (Ś 1102) and Plava (S 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and Subhakit (Ś 1104) as the eighth[3]

About Śaka 1104 the Cālukya prince Somesvara IV wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalacuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yādavas; so that about this time the Kalacuri dynasty became extinct

During the period occupied by the later Cālukya dynasty and the Kalacuris (Saka 895–1110 or A D 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II, in the cyclic year Yuvan, and the nineteenth of his era (Saka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaisya caste constructed a Buddhistic Vihāra or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dharwar District, and assigned for its support and for the mainterance of another Vihāra at Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation[4] In Saka 1032 the Śilāhāra

1 Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ins. No 183.

2 Ibid No 189

3 Ibid Nos 190, 192 and 193

4 Ind Ant, Vol, X, p 185.

chief of Kolhapur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Siva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support [1]

Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end, received an effectual check by the rise of the Lingāyata sect This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brahmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period

The worship of the Purānic gods flourished; and, as in the times of the early Cālukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brahmans and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smrtis and Purānas, and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful Nibandhas or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smrtis Bhoja of Dhārā, who belongs to the first part of this period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhāresvara he is referred to by Vijñānesvara in his work He was followed by Vijñānesvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyāna in the reign of Vikramāditya II Aparārka, another commentator on Yājñavalkya, who calls his work a Nibandha on the Dharmasāstra or Institutes of Yājñavalkya, was a prince of the Silāhāra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Śaka 1109 (A D 1187) and in the cyclic year Parābhava [2] Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemādri, and by Sāyana in the fourteenth

1 JBBRAS, Vol XIII, p 4, and infra, Section XVI

2 JBBRAS, Vol XII, pp. 334-335.

Genealogy of the Cālukya family between Vijayāditya and Tailapa as given in the Miraj grant of Jayasimha dated Saka 946.

Vijayāditya

- Vikramāditya II
  - Krtivarman II
- Another son
  - Kīrtivarman
    - Tailapa
      - Vikramāditya
        - Ayyana, married the daughter of Krsṇa
          - Vikramāditya, married Bomthādevī the daughter of Laksmaṇa king of Cedi
            - Tailapa.

Genealogy of the Later Cālukyas

1 Tailapa I (Śaka 895–919, A.D. 973–997)

- 2 Satyāśraya, Irivibhujanga (Śaka 919–930, A.D. 997–1008)
- Daśavarman
  - 3 Vikramāditya I (Śaka 930–940, A.D. 1008–1018)
  - 4 Jayasimha, Jagadekamalla I (Śaka 940–962, A.D. 1018–1040)
    - 5 Someśvara I, Āhavamalla, Trailokyamalla I (Śaka 962–991, A.D. 1040–1069)
      - 6 Someśvara II, Bhuvanaika-malla (Śaka 991–998, A.D. 1069–1076)
      - 7 Vikramāditya II Tribhuvanamalla. (Śaka 998–1048, A.D. 1076–1126)
        - 8 Someśvara III Bhūloka-malla (Śaka 1048–1060, A.D. 1126–1138)
          - 9 Jagadekamalla II (Śaka 1060–1072, A.D. 1138–1150)
          - 10 Tailapa II, Nurmadi Taila, Trailokyamalla II (Śaka 1074–1087 ?, A.D. 1150–1165.)
            - 11 Someśvara IV (Śaka 1104–1111 ?, A.D. 1182–1189.)
      - Jayasimha

SECTION XIV

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Early History of the Family

THE genealogy of the Yādavas is given in the introduction to the Vratakhanda attributed to or composed by Hemādri who was a minister of Mahādeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty Some of the Manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others, it begins with Bhillama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purānic or legendary ancestors to Mahādeva But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhillama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Paṇdit Bhagvanlal Indraji [1] He considered the Yādava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri, and called it "A New Yādava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yādavas The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the Vratakhanda[2] and on the grant published by the Pandit The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to

1 Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 119 f

2 The edition of the Vratakhanda in the Bibliotheca Indica contains neither of these two very valuable and important Prasastis. I have therefore had recourse to Manuscripts There is one Manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Deccan College and that is No. 234 of Collection A of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter Prasasti beginning with the reign of Bhillama There is another copy in the Collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer Praśasti. Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the Manuscript are missing, and the second ends

Seunacandra II who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A D, and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Sangamner and Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates [1] have been recently published, and these also have been compared

Subāhu who belonged to the Yādava race was a universal sovereign He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him The second son Drdhaprahāra [2] became king in the South or Deccan The Yādavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurā, then from the time of Krsna they became sovereigns of Dvāravatī or Dvārakā, and came to be rulers of the South from the time of the son of Subāhu, viz Drdhaprahāra His capital was Srīnagara according to the Vratakhanda, while from the

with Parammadeva the successor of Seunacandra II, while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemādri and his works The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4, but that is irretrievably lost I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private Collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khasgivale's library It contains the shorter Praśasti only My learned friend Gangadhar Shastri Datar procured another In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter, and then the longer one begins, and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the snorter. This is the only Manuscript of the four now before me, which contains the whole of the longer Praśasti, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the Inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the Manuscript is extremely incorrect I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nasik, Kolhapur, and Ahmedabad, but none was available at those places. I give the two Praśastis in Appendix C [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the Vratakhaṇḍa for the Government Collections. The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this Section and the Praśasti in Appendix C]

1 Mr. Cousen's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof Kielhorn in Epigraphia Indica, Vol II, p 212, f, and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof Kielhorn and not noticed by me The second grant is published in Ind Ant, Vol XVII, p 120, f

2 He is called Dṛdhaprahārī (nom. sing.) in the MSS., stanza 20, Appendix C I.

grant it appears to have been a town of the name of **Candrādityapura**, which may have been the modern Chandor **in the Nasik** district

He had a son of the name of Seunacandra who succeeded to the throne The country over which he ruled was called Seunadeśa [1] after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura Seunadesa was the name of the region extending from Nasik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadeśa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Dandakāranya. [2] This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khandesh In a footnote on the opening page of the Khandesh Volume, the Editor of the " Bombay Gazetteer " observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khān given to the Fāruki kings by Ahmed I of Gujarat Seunadesa, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khandesh, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadesa The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khandesh, since it included Devagiri or Daulatabad, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tāpī

Seunacandra's son Dhādiyappa [3] became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama After Bhillama, his son Srīrāja according to the grants, or Rājugi according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded [4] by his son Vaddiga or Vādugi

1 Stanza 22, Appendix C I

2 Stanza 19, Appendix C II

3 Called Dhāḍiyasa in the MSS , Appendix C I stanza 23.

4 Ibid Pandit Bhagvanlal translates the words arvāk tasya (see note below) occurring in the Yādava grant as " before him, " and placing Vaddiga before Sriraja conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Srīrāja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne , (Ind Ant , Vol XII, pp 125*a* and 128*b*). But arvāk tasya can never mean " before him ", and must mean ' after him ", and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a *preceding* prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as ' *before him* so and so became king " By the occurrence of the word अननिष्ट in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C I, it appears Rājagi was the son of Bhillama I.

Vaddiga is in the Sangamner grant represented **as a follower** of Krsnarāja who was probably Krsna III **of the Rāstrakūta dynasty**, and to have married Voddiyavvā, **daughter of a prince** of the **name** of Dhorappa

Then came Dhādiyasa,[1] who was the son of **Vādugi according** to the Vratakhanda. Two of the grants omit **his name, probably** because he was only a collateral **and not an ancestor** of the grantor in the direct line, and the third **has a line or two** missing here

Dhādiyasa was succeeded by Bhillama, who was the son of **Vaddiga** or Vādugi and consequently his brother[2] **Bhillama** married according to the grants Laksmī or **Lacciyavvā**,[3] the daughter of Jhañjha, who was probably

1 Appendix C I, stanza 24 If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhādiyappa

2 Ibid Pandit Bhagvanlal omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are —

आसीत्तस्य च भूप भूतलहरिः श्रीवड्डिगाख्यो नृप
तस्माच्छ्रीवरभिल्लमक्षितिपते प्रत्यक्षधर्मानवत् ॥

The Pandit translates this "Before him was the illustrious king Vaddiga, a Hari on earth, and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhillama in his actions " I have already remarked that instead of "before him, " we should have " after him " here The word तस्मात् is translated by " therefore " " Wherefore ? " I would ask No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being *exactly like* Bhillama, and therefore, it will not do to translate तस्मात् by " therefore " Again, the Pandit's interpretation of प्रत्यक्षधर्मा as " exactly like in actions " is far-fetched and unnatural The thing is, the genitive or ablative क्षितिपते cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Pandit himself What is wanted here is the nominative क्षितिपति for क्षितिपते and then the whole is appropriate, and तस्मात् will have its proper sense of " after him, " or " from him " The correct translation then is " *After him* " was a king of the name of Vaddiga the prosperous, who was a Hari on earth, and *after him* or *of him* (*i e* Vaddiga) came the prosperous, great Bhillama in whom Virtue became incarnate " In this way we have here another king Bhillama as mentioned in the Praśasti in the Vratakhanda in the passage cited above

3 This lady, according to my translation, becomes the wife of Bhillama, who is the king mentioned immediately before, and not of his father Vaddiga as the Pandit makes out

the Śilāhāra prince of Thana of that name Lacciyavvā sprang on her mother's side from the Rāstrakūta family, and through her son became " the upholder of the race of Yadu ; "[1] so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Sangamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhillama in the Śaka year 922, i e 1000 A D. and the prince mentioned in

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1 Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Pandit Bhagvanlal has in my opinion not succeeded in solving, and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far-reaching (p 125*a*, Ind. Ant., Vol, XII). The stanza is —

भार्या यस्य च झञ्झराजतनया श्रीलस्थियव्याह्वया
धर्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
या जाता नवबालनाजसमये यडन्वया धारिता
समांगोद्यतराज्यभारधरणाद्रायत्रयाभ्यर्या तत ॥

The Pandit's translation is —"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha Lasthiyavvā by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and hospitality, who was of the Rāstrakūṭa race, *as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority)* and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with the seven angas, was an object of reverence, to the three kingdoms "

I agree with the Pandit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायत्रय as राज्यत्रय, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable The Pandit reads राज from नाज and says that the ये in यडन्वया० ought to be long for the metre, but would make no sense. Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as " an object of reverence to the three kingdoms " Which are the three kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line, and secondly, that of the Rāstrakūtas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line Now we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yādavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यद्वन्वया० for यडन्वया० and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodially long in consequence of the following द्व In the same manner I think बालनाज is a mistake for बालजात. The word जात the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word, or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद from मद्, नाद from नद्, मान from मन् &c, Or बालनाज

the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja, and rendered the sovereign authority of Ranarangabhīma firm seems also to be he himself Ranarangabhīma was probably Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yādava prince Bhillama II assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja, which we have already noticed. Vaddiga was a follower of Krsna III of the Rāstrakūta family, whose latest known date is 881 Śaka, and Bhillama II, of Tailapa. The date 922 Śaka of Bhillama's grant is consistent with these facts. The Yādavas appear thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon as it rose to power.

The naxt king was Vesugi[1] called in Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant Tesuka, which is a mistake or mis-reading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nāyaladevī, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Cālukya family,[2] and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thana prince Jhañjha The Rāstrakūtas must have been overthrown by the Cālukyas about the end of Jhañjha's reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Cālukyas.

The Vratakhanda places Arjuna after Vesugi,[3] but th^ two

may be considered as a mistake for बाल्जन्म, the sense being the same, viz "birth of a child" The compound यद्वन्वयाधारिता is to be dissolved as आधारित यद्वन्वय यया । आधारित being made the second member according to Pāṇini II 2 37 Or, the line may be read as या याता नवबाल-जन्मसमये यद्वन्वयाधारिता, the dot over ता being omitted by mistake, and यात written as जाता in consequence of the usual confusion between य and ज. The translation of the line, therefore, is "who became the upholder of the race of Yadu on the occasion of the birth of a new child," i e through her child she became the upholder of the Yādava race. In this manner the supposition of her being adopted by the Rāstrakūtas during the younger prince's minority becomes groundless She must have belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race on her mother's side

1 Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

2 The expression चालुक्यान्वयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मण्डलीक being a mistake for माण्डलिक The Pandit understands Gogirāja as belonging to the Cālukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

3 Stanza 24, Appendix C I

grants omit his name; and perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yādava prince, but Arjuna the Pāndava, meanining to compare Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhīsma The next king was Bhillama[1] who according to the Kalas-Budruk grant was Vesugi's son. He married Hammā, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Āhavamalla, the Cālukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles[2] The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Saka The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Śaka must have been the current year, corresponding to A. D. 1025 Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuna, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhillama" This Bhillama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Āhavamalla, since Seuna is spoken of, not as the son of the latter or any such near relation, but simply as "having sprung from his race"

The Vratakhanda supplies the names of the intermediate princes The elder Bhillama was succeeded by Vādugi,[3] his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words" After him Vesugi[4] became king, but how he was related to Vādugi we are not told He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome Then came Bhillama, and after him Seuna[5] who issued the charter translated by pandit Bhagvanlal What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated

Seuna is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramāditya II, who is styled the "luminary of the Cālukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāna[6] This appears

1 Stanza 26, Ibid

2 This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 8 and not that he fought with Āhavamalla as Pandit Bhagvanlal understands. I need not discuss the matter in detail.

3 Stanza 26, Appendix C I

4 Stanza 27, Ibid

5 Stanza 28, Ibid.

6 Stanza 29, Ibid.

to be a reference to the coalition between the Vengi prince and Vikramāditya's brother Somesvara The Yādava prince Seuna was thus a close ally of the Cālukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact Seunacandra's grant is dated Saka 991 Saumya Samvatsara, while Vikramāditya II got possession of the Cālukya throne in Saka 998 Nala The grant mentions the relations of previous Yādava princes to the Cālukyas of Kalyāna, while the important service rendered by Seunacandra to Vikramāditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings" This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the Vratakhanda of Seunacandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne, took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramāditya became king in Śaka 998

Seunacandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Simharāja[1] or "King Simha," whose full name was Singhana[2] and who appears to have been his brother He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpūratilaka from Lañjipura and thus did a piece of service to Paramardin, who appears to be Vikramāditya II of the Cālukya dynasty[3]

He was succeeded by his son Mallugi, who took a town of the name of Parnakheta from his enemies, and while residing there, carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa[4] Then followed his son Amaragāngeya[5] whose name is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king[6] After him came Govindarāja who was probably his son Govindarāja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he by Kāliya Ballāla This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated

1 Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C I
2 Ind. Ant, Vol. XIV p, 315.
3 Stanza 32, Appendix C I
4 Stanzas 33 and 34, Ibid
5 Stanzas 35, Ibid
6 JBBRAS, Vol. XV p 386,

Ballāḷa's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yādava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama,[1] who was possessed of superior abilities Bhillama (being represented as the uncle of Ballāḷa) must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above[2] He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Śaka 1109 and died in 1113 It was this Bhillama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Cālukyas

Pandit Bhagvanlal has published a Stone-Inscription[3] existing in a ruined temple at Anjaneri near Nasik, in which a chief of the Yādava family, named Seunadeva, is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063[4] to a Jaina temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seuna in the Yādava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramaditya II, and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning

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1 Stanzas 35–37, Appendix C I

2 In an Inscription at Gadag published by Dr Kielhorn (Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p, 219) Bhillama is represented as the son of Karṇa, who is said to be a brother of Amaragāngeya In the many Inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty and in the Praśastis given in several books the name Karṇa does not occur even once The Gadag Inscription makes Mallugi the son of Sevanadeva, while in the Vratakhanda and the Paithan plates he is represented as the son of Singhana, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Seuṇachandra and was probably his younger son The Inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other Hence this must be mistake, and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gadag Inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gadag grant published by Dr Kielhorn is a forgery.

3 Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 126

4 The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Keilhorn, Ind Ant., Vol. XX, p. 422.

of the eleventh century of the Śaka era The Seunadeva of the Anjaneri Inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhanda Besides, Seunadeva calls himself pointedly a Mahāsāmanta or chief only ; while about 1063 Śaka, when the Cālukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yādavas of Seunadeśa should give themselves such an inferior title It therefore appears to me that the Seunadeva of Anjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Anjaneri was the chief city

The number of princes who reigned from Drdhaprahāra to Bhillama V inclusive is 22 There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as the predecessors, and consequently these twenty-two do not represent so many different generations Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Drdhaprahāra and the death of Bhillama V is 396 years The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 717 Saka or 795 A D, that is, about the time of Govinda III of the Rāstrakūta race Possibly considering that Vaddiga I was contemporary of Krsna III, one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarsa I.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY YĀDAVAS OR THE YĀDAVAS OF SEUNADEŚA.

Dṛḍhaprahāra.
|
Seunachandra I.
|
Dhādiyappa I
|
Bhillama I
|
Rājagi or Śrīrāja
|
Vādugi or Vaddiga I.
|
Dhādiyappa II — Bhillama II, Śaka 922
|
Vesugi I
|
Bhillama III, Śaka 948.
|
Vādugi II
|
Vesugi II *
|
Bhillama IV *
|
Seunacandra II,* Śaka 991 or A D 1069
|
Parammadeva — Singhana
|
Mallugi
|
Amaragāngeva. — Amaramallagi. — BHILLAMA V or I. died Śaka 1113 or A D 1191.
|
Govindarāja (son of Amaragāngeva) — Ballāḷa (son of Amaramallagi)

* The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated

SECTION XV

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Later History

WE have seen that the Hoysaḷa Yādavas of Halebid in Mysore were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Deccan, and Visnuvardhana, the reigning prince of the family at that period, actually invaded the Cālukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Krsnā-Venā But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Cālukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient But the state of things had now changed Weaker princes had succeeded, the Cālukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalacuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingāyata sect At this time the occupant of the Hoysaḷa throne was Vīra Ballāḷa, the grandson of Visnuvardhana He fought with Brāhma or Bomma, the general of the last Cālukya prince Somesvara IV, and putting down his elephants by means of his horses, defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjana [1]

The Yādavas of the North were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory Mallugi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjana A person of the name of Dādā was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalacuri prince He had four sons of the names of Mahīdhara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gangādhara Of these Mahīdhara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjana [2] But the acquisition of the empire of the

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1 Ind Ant., Vol. II, p 300.

2 Introduction to Jahlaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali, now brought to notice for the first time .— [Note continued on the next page]

Cālukyas was completed by Mallugi's son Bhillama. He captured a town of the name of Śrīvardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyandaka, put to death the ruler of Mangalavestaka (Mangalvedhe) of the name of Villana, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāna, put to death the lord of Hosala who was probably the Hoysala Yādava Narasimha, the father of Vīra Ballāla[1] The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahīdhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhillama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gūrjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna.[2] When in this manner Bhillama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Krsnā, he founded the city

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तस्यान्वयेऽभूत्करिवृन्दनाथो दादा सदादाननिदानभूत ।
यस्येक्षणाद्विज्जणभूपसैन्य दैन्य गत सयनि विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥
चत्वारस्तस्य सजातास्तनया नयशालिन ।
भुजा इव हरे शश्वद्विक्रमश्रीविभूषिता ॥ ६ ॥
चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभु ।
ख्याता महीधरो जल्ह साम्बो गङ्गाधरस्तथा ॥ ७ ॥
उपायैरिव तै काले चतुर्भि सुप्रयोजितै ।
मे (मै) लुगिक्षोणिपालस्य राज्य जात सदोन्नतम् ॥ ८ ॥
विज्जणबलजलराशि विमथ्य भुजमन्दरेण य कृतवान् ।
वीरश्रियमङ्कस्था स न कस्य महीधर स्तुत्य ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction is published in the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1887-91

1 Appendix C. I, stanza 38 Mangalvedhe is near Pandharpur. It was probably the capital of a minor chief.

2 Introduction to Jahlana's Sūktimuktāvali —

विजित्य विज्जण याते सुरलोकं महीधरे ।
निनाय भिल्लम जह्लो राजता क्षयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥
गूर्जरभूभृत्कटके कण्टकविषमेऽतिदुर्गमे येन ।
भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगज स्वेच्छया नीत ॥ १२ ॥
मल्ल: पल्लवितोरुभीतिरभितस्त्रस्यद्बलो मैल्लुगि-
र्मुञ्ज पिण्डितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनब्रह्मा किल ब्राह्मण ।
अन्नो नुन्नपराक्रमो विधुतभूर्भूरणप्राङ्गणे
येनाकारि मुरारिविक्रमभुता कि किं न तस्योर्जितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugi mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhillama. He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family,

of Devagiri[1] and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital This took place about the Śaka year 1109.

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vīra Ballāḷa, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards. It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkigundi, now Lakkundi, in the Dharwar District, in which Jaitrasimha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vīra Ballāḷa became sovereign of Kuntala The Inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Śaka 1114 or A D 1192;[2] and Vīra Ballāḷa, who made the grant recorded in it, was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkigundi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before The Northern Yādavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Maratha Country for a generation

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śaka by his son Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi He took an active part in his father's battle "He assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds "[3] This same fact is alluded to in the Paithan grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikalingas in battle He is there spoken of also as having released Ganapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne [4] The Rudra therefore whom

1 Appendix C I, stanza. 39.

2 Ind Ant, Vol. II, p 300.

3 Appendix C. I, st 41 Just as the fruit of a horse-sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man-sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds. Jaitrapāla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice, and that is considered to be the reason, as it were, of his having obtained victories everywhere, i e, in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol XIV, p. 316.

he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kākatīya dynasty whose Inscription we have at Anamkond near Warangal, and the Ganapati, his nephew[1] who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva In other places also his war with the king of the Āndhras or Tailangas and his having raised Ganapati to the throne are alluded[2] to, and he is represented to have deprived the Āndhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living[3] Laksmīdhara, the son of the celebrated Mathematician and Astronomer Bhāskarācārya, was in the service of Jaitrapāla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Panditas He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkasāstra and Mīmāmsā[4]

Jaitrapāla's son and successor was Singhana, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased He ascended the throne in 1132 Śaka[5] He defeated a king of the name of Jajjalla and brought away his elephants He deprived a monarch named Kakkūla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Malwa, and made Bhoja a prisoner Janārdana, the son of Gangādhara, who was Jahla's brother, is said to have taught Singhana the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna[6] He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jahla and after him by Gangādhara ' King Laksmīdhara, the lion of Bhambhāgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhārā was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballāla was taken All this

1 Ind Ant, Vol. XXI, p 197
2 JBBRAS, Vol. XV, p 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 113
3 JRAS, Vol I, N S, p 414.
4 Ib. p. 415
5 JRAS, Vol IV, p 5
6 Introduction Jahlana's Sūktimuktāvali —

आसीद्गङ्गाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गङ्गाधरोपम ।
एकान्वयबन्ध यो व्यालान्मुमोचैकान्यदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥
तस्याभवत्सूनुरनूनसत्त्वो जनार्दनाह्व करिवाहिनीश ।
समुद्रवद्यो भुवनं बभार सह श्रिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥
सिंहोऽप्यध्यापितस्तेन गजशिक्षां तदद्भुतम् ।
यथार्जुन लसत्पत्र समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

was but a child's play to King Singhana "[1] Jajjalla must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Cedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty [2] The name Kakkūla I would identify with Kokkala which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur The kings of Mathurā and Kāsī were killed by him in battle, and Hammīra was vanquished by but a boy-general of Singhana [3] In an Inscription also at Tilivalli in the Dharwar District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballāla the Hoysala king, subdued Bhoja of Panhala, and humbled the sovereign of Mālava [4] He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Gūrjara king "[5] We have an Inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Saka, which shows that Vīra Ballāla must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time [6] Singhana is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri [7]

The Bhoja of Panhala spoken of above was a prince of the Śilāhāra dynasty, and after his defeat, the Kolhapur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yādavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as later on, they did to another, which ruled over Northern Konkan. From this time forward the Kolhapur Inscriptions contain the names of the Yādava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district An Inscription of Singhana at Khadrapur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Koppesvara in the year 1136 Saka

Singhana seems to have invaded Gujarat several times. In an Inscription at Ambe a Brāhmana chief of the name of Kholesvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yādava sovereign He humbled the pride of the Gūrjara prince, crushed the Mālava, destroyed the race of the

1 Appendix C I, st 43 and 44 Ind Ant, Vol XIV, p 316.

2 General Cunningham's Arch Reports, Vol XVII, pp 75, 76 and 79.

3 JRAS, Vol I, N S, p 414

4 JBBRAS, Vol IX, p 326.

5 Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur, Ins. No. 13.

6 Ind Ant, Vol II, p 297.

7 Major Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10.

king of the Ābhīras, and being like "wild fire to the enemies" of his master, left nothing for Singhana to be anxious about. His son Rāma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarat Rāma advanced up to the Narmadā, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gūrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life[1] From this it would appear that Gujarat was invaded by Singhana on two occasions at least, if not more, and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities for the history of Gujarat

Somadeva, the author of the Kīrttikaumudī, which gives an account of the minister Vastupāla and his masters–the princes of the Vāghelā branch of the Cālukya family–describes an invasion of Gujarat by Singhana in the time of Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala "The capital of Gujarat trembled with fear when the advance of Singhana's army was reported Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gūrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all were restless Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a particular solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited, removed farther and farther. When Lavanaprasāda heard of the rapid advance of the innumerable host of the Yādava prince, he knit his brow in anger; and though he had but a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior When the forces of Singhana arrived on the banks of the Tāpī he rapidly advanced to the Mahī Seeing, on the one hand, the vast army of the enemy and, on the other, the indomitable prowess of the Cālukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air, showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly The Yādavas overran the country about Bharoch while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields; but the king of Gujarat did not consider them unconquerable"[2]

1 Arch Surv of W I, Vol III, p. 85.

2 Kīrttikaumudī IV, stanzas 43–53.

In the meanwhile, however, four kings of Marwar rose against Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala, and the chiefs of Godhrā and Lāta, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the Marwar princes In these circumstances Lavanaprasāda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards [1] The Yādava army, however, did not, according to Somesvara, advance farther; but he gives no reason whatever, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it "[2] But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as Somesvara himself represents, and the army of Singhana was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gūrjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay a tribute or satisfied the Yādava commander in some other way In a Manuscript discovered some years ago of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents, &c, there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of Simhana and Lavanaprasāda as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them [3] The result of the expedition, therefore, was that Lavanaprasāda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Singhana

1 Ib, st 55-60

2 Ib, st 63

3 This work is entitled Lekhapañcāśikā, and the Manuscript was purchased by me for Government in 1883 The first leaf is wanting and the colophon does not contain the name of the author The Manuscript, however, is more than four hundred years old, being transcribed in 1536 of the Vikrama Samvat. For the variable terms in the forms given by the author, he often uses the usual expression amuka, meaning "some one" or "such a one" This general expression, however, is not used to indicate the date, and we have in all the forms one date, viz 15 Śudi of Vaiśākha, in the year of Vikrama 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd Sudi This probably was the date when the author wrote Similarly, when giving the form of a grant inscribed on copper-plates, the author in order probably to make the form clear, uses real and specific names He gives the genealogy of the Cālukya kings of Anahilapattana from Mūlarāja to Bhīma II, and then introduces Lavanaprasāda, whom he calls Lāvanyaprasāda and styles a Mahāmandaleśvara, as the prince making the grant Similarly, in giving the form of a treaty of alliance called Yamalapattra, the persons who are introduced as parties to it are Simhana and Lāvaṇyaprasāda and the form runs thus —

This invasion of Gujarat must have been one of the earlier one's alluded to in the Ambe Inscription, and Kholeśvara himself must have been the commander of the Yādava army on the occasion For Lavanaprasāda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhīma II of Anahilapattana, about the year 1276 Vikrama,[1] corresponding to 1141 Saka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Singhana's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs, was composed in 1288 Vikrama, i e 1153 Saka But the expedition under the command of Rāma, the son of Kholesvara, must have been sent a short time before Śaka 1160, the date of Ambe Inscription For Rāma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Laksmī, who governed the principality in the name of the boy Rāma, therefore, had not died so many years before Saka 1160 as to allow of his

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सवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाखशुदि १५ सोमे ऽद्येह श्रीमद्विजयकटके महाराजाधिराजश्रीमत्सिंहणदेवस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च । सराज (साम्राज्य or सम्राट्) कुलश्रीश्रीमत्सिंहणदेवेन महामण्डलेश्वरराणश्रीलावण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वरूढ्यात्मीय २ (i e , आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीय । केनापि कस्यापि भूमी नाक्रमणीया ।

" On this day the 15th Śudi of Vaiśākha, in the year Samvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Simhana and the Mahamandleśvara Rānaka, the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda Simhana whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahamandaleśvara Rānā the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country , neither should invade the country of the other "

The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release , that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable things, he should not be allowed quarter, &c Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduee these persons in this form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them Simhana is but another form of Singhana, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the " victorious camp, " which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara.

In रहणीय we have, I think, the vernacular root रहे " to remain, " " to live " For further details see my Report on the Search for Manuscripts during 1882-83, pp 39 and 225

1 Ind Ant , Vol VI, p 190.

boy having attained his majority by that time On the occasion of this expedition Vīsaladeva, the son of Vīradhavala, was the sovereign of Gujarat For in an Inscription of his he boasts of his having been " the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army, " [1] and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Saka 1157, [2] though he obtained possession of the throne at Anahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Śaka 1167 and 1246 A D The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Rāma's having been killed in the battle What the ultimate result was, however, the Inscription does not inform us

Singhana appointed one Bīcana or Bīca, the son of Cikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there He fought with his master's enemies in the South as Kholesvara did in the North and kept them in check Bīcana is represented to have humbled the Rattas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Maratha Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, i e, of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the South, the Pāndyas, the Hoysalas, and the chiefs of other Southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kāverī [3] The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Saka 1160 or A D 1238

It thus appears that the Yādava empire became in the time of Singhana as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana in his Inscriptions, such as " the support of the whole world," " the lover of the earth (Prthvīvallabha), " and " king of kings " Since Krsna, the eighth incarnation of Visnu, is represented in the Purānas to have belonged to the Yādava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves

1 Ind Ant., Vol VI, pp 191 and 212

2 Vīradhavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupāla The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297 Vastupāla was minister to Vīsaladeva also for some time We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292 Ind Ant, Vol VI, p. 190.

3 JBBRAS, Vol XV, pp 386-7, and Vol XII, p. 43.

Visnuvamsodbhava,[1] and as Krsna and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of Dvāravatīpuravarādhīsvara, "the supreme lord of Dvāravatī, the best of cities."[2]

In the reign of Singhana as well as of his two predecessors the office of Chief Secretary or Śrīkaranādhipa, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemādri, was held by a man of the name of Sodhala He was the son of the Bhāskara, a native of Kashmir who had settled in the Deccan Sodhala's son Śārngadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled Samgīta Ratnākara which is extant[3] There is a commentary on this work attributed to a king of the name of Singa who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Āndhra circle This Singa appears in all likelihood to be Singhana; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case[4] Cāngadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarācārya and son of Laksmīdhara, was chief astrologer to Singhana, and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarācārya's brother Srīpati and son of Ganapati Cangadeva founded a Matha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhāntasiromani and other works at Patna in the Chalisgaon Division of the Khandesh District, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same Division, and

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1 i e "of the race of Visnu"

2 Graham's Report, Ins No 10, and JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p 7.

3
तस्याभूत्तनयः प्रभूतविनयः श्रीसोढलः प्रौढधी—
र्येन श्रीकरणप्रवृद्धविभवः भूवल्लभः सिल्लमम् ।
आगत्याखिललोकशोकशमनी कीर्तिं समासादिता
जैत्र जैत्रपदं न्यधायि महती श्रीसिङ्घणः श्रीरपि ॥

Then follows one verse in praise of Singhana and two in praise of Sodhala, in which he is represented to have pleased Singhana by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired, and then we have तस्मादुग्धाम्बुधेर्जात शार्ङ्गदेव सुधाकर । उपर्युपरि सर्वाणि सद्गुणार स्फुरत्कर ॥ Introduction to Samgītaratnākara, MSS No 979, Deccan College Collections of 1887-91 इति श्रीमदनविनोदश्रीकरणाधिपतिश्रीसोढलनन्दनानि शङ्क- श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवविरचिते सगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णकाध्यायस्तृतीय समाप्त । fol 122*a*.

4 My Report on MSS for 1882-83, pp 37, 38 and 222.

dedicated it to Bhavānī on the 1st of Caitra in the Śaka year 1144 expired [1]

Singhana's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, who "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights [2] But if he protected the earth at all, he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as Yuvarāja, for the latest date of Singhana is Saka 1169, and in a copper-plate Inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Krsna, Śaka 1175 (Pramādi-Samvatsara) is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Krsna began to reign in Śaka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A D [3] And in the longer of the two historical Introductions to the Vratakhanda, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all After Singhana, we are told that his grandsons Krsna and Mahādeva came to the throne, of whom the elder–Krsna–reigned first [4]

Krsna's Prakrit name was Kanhāra, Kanhara, or Kandhāra He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Malwa, Gujarat, and Konkan, to have "established the king of Telanga," and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Cola king [5] In the Vratakhanda also he is said to have destroyed the army of Vīsala, who we know was sovereign of Gujarat at this time, and who had been at war with Singhana, and, in general terms, to have 'conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra " [6] Laksmīdeva, son of Janārdana, is represented by his wise counsels to

1 JRAS, Vol I, N. S, p 415, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 113

2 Appendix C II, stanza 7

3 JBBRAS, Vol XII, p. 42

4 Appendix C I, st 45.

5 JBBRAS, Vol XII, p 38

6 That is, "left this world," "died," Appendix C II, st. 11

have helped Krsna to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies[1]

Krsna performed a great many sacrifices and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people" In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1171, found in the Belgaum Taluka, Malla or Mallisetti is spoken of as the elder brother of Bīca or Bīcana, the Viceroy of Singhana in the South, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhundi He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Krsna, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bagevadi to thirty-two Brahmans of different Gotras[2] Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahārāstra Brahmans, such as Patavardhana and Ghaisāsa, prevalent among Chitpavanas, and Ghalisāsa, Ghaḻisa, and Pāthaka, among Deśasthas The name Trivādi also occurs; but there is no trace of it among Maratha Brāhmanas, while it is borne by Brāhmanas in Gujarat and Upper Hindustan In another grant, Caunda the son of Bīcana, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Krsna at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein[3]

Jahlana, son of Laksmīdeva who had succeeded his father, assisted Krsna diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Krsna's enemies He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called Sūkti-

1 Intr Jahlana's Sūktimuktāvali —

विश्वत्राणपरायण स्फुरद्दुरुस्वर्णार्चितार्थिव्रज-
स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रम समभवच्छ्रीलक्ष्मिदेव सुधी ।
मन्त्रैर्निर्जितदेवमन्त्रिधिषणजाग्रन्नयप्रक्रमै
राज्य कृष्णमहीपतेरविकल दत्त्वा स्थिर योऽव्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥
अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिर्न्यञ्चितक्षितिभृद्भ्रमो ।
चित्र सोऽयकरोन्नृत्यत्कबन्धसमरार्णवम् ॥ २२ ॥

2 JBBRAS, Vol XIII, p 27 Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 304 Kuhundi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum District

3 JBBRAS, Vol XII, p 43.

muktāvali, which is extant [1] The Vedāntakalpataru, which is a commentary on Vācaspatimisra's Bhāmatī which itself is a commentary on Śaṁkarācārya's Vedāntasūtrabhāsya, was written by Amalānanda in the reign of Krsna [2]

Krsna was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva in 1182 Śaka or 1260 A D "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailanga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gūrjara, he destroyed the king of Konkana with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnāta and Lāta to mockery "[3] The Gūrjara here mentioned must be Vīsaladeva noticed above, as Mahādeva is represented in the Paithan grant to have vanquished him ,[4] and the king of Karnāta was probably a Hoysaḷa Yādava of Halebid "King Mahādeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him , knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne , and the king of Mālava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions practised false penance for a long time He took away in battle the elephants and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tailangana, but left the ruler Rudramā as he refrained from killing a woman "[5] In a work on Poetics called Pratāparudrīya by Vidyānātha there occurs

1 Introduction, Jahlana's Sūktimuktavali —

तस्यास्त तनयो नयाऽधिविवुधेन्द्रबुधानां सुधी
सागसागविचारणासु चतुरः श्रीजह्लणाख्यः क्षितौ ॥ २६ ॥
मत्पित्रा उत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतवलवद्वैरि सर्गापसर्ग
राज्यं प्रात्यप्रभावप्रथितगुणभृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।
तन्निर्वाह्य मयति द्विगुणितविषणाशक्तिभक्तिर्विधत्त
सर्वं य स्वामि (मि)कार्यं हितमनयहृता भावुकनानुंजन ॥ २७ ॥
ध्रुव यस्यास्ति हस्ताब्जे मदान्धा करिवाहिनी ।
दानोदकप्रवाहोऽत्र दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥
तनेय क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसंग्रहान् ।
सूक्तिमुक्तावलीकण्ठकन्दलीभूषणं सताम् ॥ २९ ॥

2 Transactions, Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol I, p. 423.

3 Appendix C I, st 48, and II, st 13

4 Ind Ant, Vol XIV, p 316

5 Appendix C I, st 52, and II, st 14 and 15.

a specimen of a dramatic play in which Ganapati of the Kākatīya dynasty, the same prince who is represented in the Paithan grant to have been released from confinement by Jaitugi, is mentioned as having left his throne to his daughter, whom, however, he called his son and named Rudra, and who is spoken of as "a king" and not queen She adopted Pratāparudra, the son of her daughter, as her heir This, therefore, was the woman spoken of above as Rudramā and as having been placed on the throne by the Āndhras [1]

"Soma, the lord of Konkana, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was together with his forces drowned in the rivers formed by the humour trickling from the temples of Mahādeva's maddened elephants" "Mahādeva deprived Someśvara of his kingdom and his life"[2] We have seen that Krsna fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly. His successor Mahādeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants Soma or Somesvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships There somehow he met with his death,[3] probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahādeva's prowess to be more unbearable[4] Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yādavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahādeva's successor, as we find from the Thana plates published by Mr. Wathen[5] The Somesvara whom Mahādeva subdued belonged to the Śilāhāra dynasty of Thana that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period He is the last prince of the dynasty

1 एवमेतत् । अन्यथा कथमीश्वरप्रसादाद्गते निरङ्कुश स्त्रीव्यक्तिविशषस्य लोकाधिपत्यम् । एव मानुषशम्भुना गणपतिमहाराजेनाभ्यन्तरस्यानुभावस्य सदृशमत्र पुत्र इति व्यवहार कृतस्तदनुगुणा च रुद्र इत्याख्या । Poona lithographed edition of Śaka 1771, fol 29. See also Dr. Hultzsch's paper, Ind Ant, Vol XXI, pp. 198, 199

2 Appendix C. I, st 49, 50, and II, st 17

3 Appendix C I, st 49

4 Ibid. I, st 51, and II, st. 18.

5 JRAS (old series), Vol. V. p. 177.

whose Inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are Śaka 1171 and 1182 [1]

Mahādeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuna on the borders of Daṇḍakāraṇya It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it " [2] At Pandharpur there is an Inscription dated 1192 Śaka, Pramoda Samvatsara, in which Mahādeva is represented to have been reigning at the time He is there called Prauḍhapratāpa Cakravartin, or " Paramount sovereign possessing great valour " The Inscription records the performance of an Aptoryāma sacrifice by a Brahman chief of the name of Kesava belonging to the Kasyapa Gotra

The immediate successor of Mahādeva was Āmana [3] who appears to have been his son, but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Rāmacandra, son of Kṛṣṇa, who ascended the throne in 1193 Saka or 1271 A D He is called Rām'adeva or Rāmarāja also In the Thana copper-plate grants he is spoken of as " a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mālava, " from which it would appear that he was at war with that country He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailanga king. " This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratāparudra the successor of Rudramā, which are mentioned in the work noticed above Several other epithets occur in the grants, but they are given as mere birudas or titles which were inherited by Rāmacandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign His Inscriptions are found as far to the South as the confines of Mysore, so that the empire he ruled over was as large as it ever was

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol XIII, Part II, p. 422.

2 Appendix C II, st 19 and 20. " The mountain tenanted by gods " may be the Himālaya or Meru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means " a mountain of or having gods ".

3 Paithan grant, Ind Ant, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

There is in the Deccan College Library a Manuscript of the Amarakosa written in Konkan on Tāla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Śaka 1219 and A D 1297 His viceroy in Konkan in Śaka 1212 was a Brahman named Krsna belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanābha first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Simghana One of the Thana grants was issued by him, and the other, dated 1194 Śaka, by Acyuta Nāyaka, who was also a Brahman and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated Where he resided is also not clear By the Paithan copper-plate charter, which was issued in Saka 1193, Rāmacandra assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brahmans on conditions some of which are rather interesting The Brahmans and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds [1]

Hemādri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmaśāstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmacandra and was minister to both In the Introduction to his works on Dharmaśāstra he is called Mahādeva's Śrīkaranādhipa or Śrīkaranaprabhu In the Thana copper-plate of 1194 Saka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the Ādhipatya or Controllership of all karana This office seems to have been that of Chief Secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the State Record Hemādri is also called Mantrin or counsellor generally In his other works and in the Thana plate, Rāmarāja instead of Mahādeva is represented as his master Mahādeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma Sometimes the former begins with Singhana, sometimes with Bhillama, while in the Dānakhanda the exploits of Mahādeva alone are enumerated The description of the several princes is often couched in general terms and consists of nothing but eulogy But the Vratakhanda, which was the first work composed by Hemādri, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning, and by far the greater portion of it, is undoubtedly historical

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p 319

Hemādri was a Brahman of the Vatsa Gotra His father's name was Kāmadeva, grandfather's Vāsudeva, and great-grandfather's Vāmana [1] He is described in terms of extravagant praise, and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this Hemādri was very liberal to Brahmans and fed numbers of them every day He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave He evidently possessed a great deal of influence Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned, but the idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system, must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision

His great work is called the Caturvarga Cintāmani, which is divided into four parts, viz, (1) Vratakhanda, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances, (2) Danakhanda, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached, are explained, (3) Tirthakhanda, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places, and (4) Moksakhanda, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth There is a fifth Khanda or part which is called Parisesakhanda or Appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on Śrāddhas or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rights, and (4) on Prāyascitta or atonement All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations They are held in great estimation, and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them A commentary called Āyurvedarasāyana on a medical treatise by Vāgbhata and another on Bopadeva's Muktāphala, a work expounding Vaisnava doctrines, are also attributed to him

This Bopadeva was one of Hemādri's protegees and the author of the work mentioned above, and of another entitled Harilīlā, which contains an abstract of the Bhāgavata Both of those were written at the request of Hemādri as the author himself tells

1 Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa, Bib. Ind Ed., pp. 4-5.

us.[1] Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as his teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of Berar Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called Mugdhabodha, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us

Hemādri has not yet been forgotten in the Maratha country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemādpant, and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him. He is said to have introduced the Modī or the current form of writing, and is believed to have brought it from Lankā or Ceylon As chief secretary he had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and it is possible he may have introduced some improvements in the mode of writing

The great Maratha Sādhu or Saint Jñāneśvara or Dnyāneśvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of Rāmcandra At the end of his Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā he tells us "In the Kali age, in the country of Mahārāstra and on the southern bank of the Godāvarī, there is a sacred place five kosas in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahālayā, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world There, king Rāmacandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gītā by Jñānadeva, the son of Nivrttinātha, sprung from the family of Mahesa "[2] The

1 विद्वद्धनेशशिष्येण भिषक्केशवसूनुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥
Dr. Rajendralal's Notices of Skr MSS, Vol II, pp 48 and 200

2 ऐसें युगीं परि कळीं । आणि महाराष्ट्रमंडळीं ।
श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूळीं । दक्षिणलीं ॥ १ ॥
त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशक्षेत्र ।
जेथ जगाचें जीवनसूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥
तेथ यदुवंशविलास । जो सकळकळानिवास ।
न्यायातें पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥
तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूतें । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुतें ।
केलें ज्ञानदेवें गीते । देशीकार लेणें ॥ ४ ॥

date of the completion of the work is given as Śaka 1212 or A. D. 1290, when we know Rāmacandra was on the throne

Rāmacandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Deccan The Mussalmans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Deccan, it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time Alla-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king, who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit In the year 1294 A D or Śaka 1216, he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the South till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the West appeared in a short time before Devagiri The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it According to one account he was even absent from his capital He hastily collected about 4000 troops, and threw himself between the city and the invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Deccan. Rāmacandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistance began to treat for peace. Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold In the meantime, Rāmacandra's son Śamkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege, and proceeded with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Śamkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back, but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison, joined them at this time, and Śamkara's followers, thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi, were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus.

Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva then continued the negotiations,

but Alla-ud-din raised his demands The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Rāmacandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt; and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted, he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din " 600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince, Alla-ud-din retired

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne King Rāmacandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march " over stones and hills without drawing rein, " and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A. D., or about the end of Śaka 1228 A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Rāmadeva was taken prisoner[1] According to another account, Malik Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself Rāmacandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans In Śaka 1231 or A. D 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Deccan to subdue Tailangana On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king

Rāmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Śamkara He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Deccan in Śaka 1234 or A D 1312 to reduce him to submisson He put Śamkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din, his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over

1 Elliot's History of India, Vol. III, p 77.

him, revolted In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik The opportunity was seized by Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāmacandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors In 1240 Śaka or A D 1318 Mubarik marched to the Deccan in person to suppress the revolt He took Harapāla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive

Thus ended the last Hindu or Maratha monarchy of the Deccan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire

GENEALOGY OF THE LATER YĀDAVAS OR THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Mallugi
|
1 Bhillama
(Śaka 1109-1113 or A. D 1187-1191.)
|
2 Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi
(Śaka 1113-1132 or A D 1191-1210)
|
3. Singhaṇa
(Śaka 1132-1169 or A D 1210-1247)
|
Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi

4. Kṛṣṇa, Kanhāra or Kandhāra
(Śaka 1169-1182 or A D 1247-1260.)
|
6 Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva.
(Śaka 1193-1231 or A D 1271-1309)
|
7 Śaṁkara (Śaka 1231-1234 or A D 1309-1312)
|
Brother-in-law, Harapāla, killed in Śaka 1240 or A D 1318

5 Mahādeva
(Śaka 1182-1193 or A D 1260-1270)
|
Āmaṇa

SECTION XVI

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR

THREE distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Śilāra or Śilāhāra ruled over different parts of the country They all traced their origin to Jīmūtavāhana the son of Jīmūtaketu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śankhacūda by offering himself as a victim to Garuda in his place[1] One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was Tagarapuravarādhīsvara or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance We have seen that Kāmvadeva, the donor of the Rajapur grant, who was a Cālukya, called himself Kalyānapuravarādhīsvara, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage, and of the rulers of Goa was Banavāsīpuravarādhīsvara As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyāna and Banavāsī, so does Tagarapuravarādhīsvara show that the Śilāhāras, who bore the title, belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara In one Silāhāra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Silāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara"[2] As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era, and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital Perhaps it existed between the close of the Āndhrabhṛtya period and the foundation of the Cālukya power

The three Śilāhāra dynasties of Mahāmandaleśvaras or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded

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1 This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play Nāgānanda attributed to Śrī-Harsa

2 Grant translated by Dr Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III. शिलाहाराख्यवंशोय तगरेश्वरभूभुजाम् ।

in the times of the Rāstrakūtas One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Purī, which probably was at one time the capital of the province As represented in an Inscription at Kanheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullaśakti by Amoghavarsa a few years before Saka 775

Another Śilāhāra family established itself in Southern Konkan. The founder or first chief named Śanaphulla enjoying the favour of Krsnarāja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.[1] There were three Rāstrakūta princes of the name of Krsnarāja, but the one meant here must be the first prince of the name who reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era or between 753 and 775 A D[2] The genealogy of this dynasty is

1 Kharepatan plates, JBBRAS, Vol I, p 217 The name of the first chief is read "Jhallaphulla" by Bal Gangadhara Śāstrī, but the first letter looks like स though there is some difference That difference, however, brings it nearer to श The letter which was read by him as झ is clearly ण For देशसभावनं। I find देशससाधनं। on the plates

2 From Śanaphulla the first chief, to Ratta the last, there are ten generations Somehow each succeeding chief in this line happens to be the son of the preceding Though in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation of brother or uncle, the average duration of each reign is from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world Ratta was on the throne in Śaka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27 × 9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Śaka 930 Subtracting 27 × 9 = 243 from 930, we have Śaka 687 as the approximate date of Śaṇaphulla If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date In either cases, we are brought to the reign of Krsṇa I The dates of Krsṇa II range from Śaka 797 to 833 and of Krsna III from Saka 862 to 881, and therefore neither of these will do Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case, and subtract 19 × 9 = 171 from 930, we get Śaka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Krsna II whose earliest date is Śaka 797 The Kharepatan family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Krsna I

Bal Śāstrī read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu, but the second syllable of the name is certainly not हु the form of which in the grant itself is different It looks exactly like the ट्ट in the word परमभट्टारक and आयट्टनानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

given in the Kharepatan grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Śaka 930 while the Cālukya king Satyāśraya was reigning The capital must have been situated somewhere near Kharepatan

The third Śilāhāra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj, and Karhad, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Rāstrakūta empire, as will be hereafter shown The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nāyimma or Nāyivarman. Nāyimma was followed by his son Candrarāja, and Candrarāja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhala"[1]

Jatiga's son and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahāta-Kundi[2] and Mairiñja and to have harassed Konkan He had three brothers named Gūvala, Kīrtirāja, and Candrāditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him Then followed Mārasimha the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Śaka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples, and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khiligili, which probably was another name Panhala in the Kolhapur districts Mārasimha was succeeded by his son Gūvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. Bhoja's two brothers Ballāḷa and Gandarāditya governed the principality after him in succession

An Inscription at Kolhapur mentions another brother named Gangadeva, and the order in which the brothers are spoken of, is Gūvala, Ganga, Ballāḷa, Bhoja and Gandarāditya But the grants of Gandarāditya and Bhoja II agree in representing Bhoja

1 See the grant of Gaṇḍarāditya published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in JBBRAS, Vol XIII, p 2, of Mārasimha in JRAS, Vol IV, p 280, and Arch Surv W I No. 10, p. 102, and of Bhoja II, in Trans Lit. Soc. Bom., Vol III

2 Mārasimha's grant Kundi or Kuhundi was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before Mairiñja is Miraj

3 Inscription No. 4, Major Graham's Report.

as the elder and Ballāḷa as the younger brother, and in omitting Ganga.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gandarāditya seems to have been the most famous He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, [1] and in others recorded on stone at Kolhapur and in the districts His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058 [2] He ruled over the country of Miriñja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhapur Śilāhāras before 1032 Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Gomka or soon after From the grant of Bhoja II it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Deccan Śilahāras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Kharepatan grant, [3] wherefore it follows that the Śilāhāras of Southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhapur districts.

Gandarāditya fed a hundred thousand Brahmans at Prayāga. This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhapur, and not the modern Allahabad He built a Jaina temple at Ajara, a village in the Kolhapur districts, [4] and constructed a large tank, called after him Gandasamudra or "the sea of Ganda," at Irukudi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of of Īśvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good and just government are extolled [5] He first resided at a place called Tiravāda and afterwards at Valavāta, which has been identified with the present Valavda [6]

1 In loc cit.

2 Bhagvanlal's plates, and Inscriptions Nos 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report The Śaka in Bhagvanlal's grant and No I of Majar Graham's Inscriptions is the same, i e 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but cyclic years are different As to this see Appendix B

3 For the village granted is Kaseli, which is near Jaitapur and Kharepatan.

4 Ind Ant., Vol X. p 76, note.

5 His grant in loc cit

6 Bhagvanlal's plates and Major Graham's Inscriptions No 2.

Gandarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayārka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073 [1] He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thana to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky [2] He assisted Vijjana [3] in his revolt against his masters, the Cālukyas of Kalyāna, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Śaka

After Vijayārka, his son Bhoja II became Mahāmandalesvara and reigned in the fort of Panhala His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127 [4] He granted the village of Kaseli in Konkan near Kharepatan, on the application of his son Gandarāditya for feeding Brahmans regularly [5], and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhapur are called Karahātakas, which shows that the caste of Karhada Brahmans had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of Ghaisāsa, which is now found among Chitpvan Brahmans. [6] In the reign of Bhoja II, a Jaina Pandit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled Śabdārnavacandrikā [7] on Pūjyapāda's Sanskrit Grammar

The Kolhapur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence Vijjana, the new sovereign at Kalyāna, however, endeavoured

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1 Ins Nos 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report

2 Grant of Bhoja II in loc cit

3 In the transcript of the Inscription in Vol IV, Trans. Lit. Soc Bom. we have Vīksna for Vījjana There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the Inscription or of the engraver For the Kalacuri usurper at Kalyāṇa is called both Vijjala or Vijjana in his Inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayārka obtained the position of a Cakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the Inscription

4 Major Graham's Ins Nos 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind Ant, Vol X, p. 76, note.

5 There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given

6 Ins No. 8, Major Graham's Report.

7 Ind. Ant., Vol X, p 76, note The Manuscript here mentioned is in the Deccan College Library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note.

probably to establish his authority over Bhoja But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection, Vijjana marched against Kolhapur a little before his assassination in Śaka 1089 [1] On the establishment of the Devagiri Yādavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence; but Singhana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yādava empire [2]

The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gandarāditya is seven The latest date of the latter is Śaka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayārka is 1065; so that if we suppose Gandarāditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at Śaka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family At that time the reigning Rāstrakūta sovereign was Krsna III, the uncle of Kakkala, the last prince

One of the many titles used by the Śilāhāras was Śrīman-Mahālaksmī-labdha-vara-prasāda, i e, "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahālaksmī." Mahālaksmī was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purānic and Vedic religion; but they patronized both Brahmans and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact—noticed above—of Gandarāditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him

There are at the present day many Maratha families of the name of Selara reduced to poverty, and the name Selaravadi of a station on the Railway from Khandala to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara.

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1 Vijalarāya Caritra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p 320.
2 Sec. XV.

GENEALOGY OF THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR

- Jatiga I
  - Nāyimma
    - Candrarāja
      - Jatiga II
        - Gomka
          - Mārasimha, Śaka 980 or A D 1058
            - Gūvala II
            - Bhoja I.
            - Ballāla
            - Gaṇḍarāditya, Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058, or A D 1110, 1118, 1136
              - Vijayārka, Śaka 1065, 1073, or A D 1143, 1151
                - Bhoja II, Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1127, or A D 1179, 1187, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1205.
        - Gūvala I
        - Kīrtirāja
        - Candrāditya

THE WORK DONE BY

THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

TOWARDS THE ELUCIDATION OF INDIAN HISTORY BY THE STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONS

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Extra Number · The Centenary Memorial Volume, 1905, Part II, Sanskrit Section, pp 33ff]

THERE is no record in the literature of the country of the political revolutions and changes of dynasties that India and the several provinces went through before the advent of Mahomedans We have therefore to depend principally upon Inscriptions on stone and copper-plates, and on coins, for information on these points *The work of deciphering and translating Inscriptions on* this side of India, was, up to 1872, performed by our Society In that year the Indian Antiquary began to be published, and the Inscription-work was in a very large measure undertaken by it, and subsequently by the Epigraphia Indica which began to be issued on behalf of Government in 1891 The latest and most satisfactory work will, of course, be found in the pages of the last and also of the Indian Antiquary But the work done by our Society has also been of great importance, and my object is now to place before you a summary of it

MAURYA DYNASTY

The earliest Inscriptions are those of the Maurya Prince, Asoka, which go back to about the year 245 B C. In our Presidency we find his Edicts inscribed on rock at Junagad. Good eye-copies of these were prepared by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob in 1843 These were published in the First Volume of our Journal Nothing further has been done by our Society since, and most of the work was performed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and by scholars in Europe, and lastly by the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica. In Volume XVII, however,

we have a copy of the Twelfth Edict of Aśoka at Sahabazgarhi, which had been missing before, and was newly discovered by Captain Deane, published with remarks by the French scholar M. Senart And in Volume XXI, the latest issued by our Society, we have notes by D R Bhandarkar discussing certain points in the first two Rock Edicts and on the sect of Ājīvikas referred to in the seventh pillar Edict, and in certain caves dedicated to it by Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha The work done in connection with these Inscriptions has by no means attained perfection yet, and it will require the attention of acute scholars for many a year to come.

THE KSATRAPAS AND THE GUPTAS

Later in date are the Inscriptions of a dynasty of princes who called themselves Ksatrapas or Mahāksatrapas This, in all likelihood, was a dynasty of foreign origin and belonged to the Śaka race Like other foreigners who came in in later times, they adopted the current Hindu religion and Hindu manners The name of the founder was Castana, which has a foreign look , but all his descendants adopted Hindu names such as Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Rudrasena, &c They were probably worshippers of Siva, since the name "Rudra" frequently occurs in their names There are several Inscriptions of this dynasty, but the principal one is that of the third prince named Rudradāman It records the repair of a dam to the Sudarsana lake near Junagad in the year 72 Śaka corresponding to 150 A D A copy of this Inscription was first published in Volume I in the year 1842 by Jacob and Westergaard A better copy, with a transcript and translation, was published by Dr Bhau Daji in 1862 in Volume VII Another Inscription, dated 127 Saka, of the Mahāksatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena, existing on a pillar at Jasdan in Kathiawar, was also published by the same scholar in Volume VIII.

There are several more inscriptions, though they do not appear in our journals; but the names and dates of the several princes of this dynasty have been chiefly determined by the legend on their coins, which are found in large numbers in Kathiawar This dynasty was finally exterminated by Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta race about 310 Śaka or 388 A D; and this revolution is indicated by another Inscrip-

tion about the Sudarsana lake mentioned above The bank gave way again in the time of Skandagupta in the year of the Gupta era 136, corresponding to 454 A D, and was repaired the next year. The two Inscriptions on the Sudarsana lake, therefore, briefly indicate three changes of dynasties from about the year 322 B C to 455 A D The dam is said to have been constructed originally by Candragupta Maurya through his Police Officer Pusyagupta, a Vaisya The lake was rendered still more efficacious 66 years later by Asoka, his grandson Then it gave way, as we have seen, in the time of Rudradāman about the year 150 A D, and the second Inscription shows that it gave way again when the ruling prince was Skandagupta Thus Kathiawar was first governed by the Mauryas, afterwards by the Ksatrapas, and at a later period by the Guptas This Inscription of Skandagupta was for the first time fully translated and published with a facsimile and transcript by Dr Bhau Daji in Volume VII of our Journal Bhau Daji also published a revised translation of another record of the same prince inscribed on a Lāt, or pillar at Bhitari, in Volume X, and, later, another copy and translation of the same were published in 1885 by Pandit Bhagvanlal This is all that our journals contain of the records of the Gupta dynasty

THE VALABHI DYNASTY

A General of the name of Bhattarka was appointed—in all likelihood, by one of the later Gupta princes– to rule over Kathiawar in the last quarter of the fifth century, but about the end of that century and immediately after, when the Gupta dynasty broke up in consequence of the incursions of the Huns and from other causes, the rulers of Valabhī declared themselves independent and ruled over a large part of the country, the limits of which, however, have not yet been determined In Volume III of our Journal we have a grant of Dharasena II, the seventh prince, and another of Silāditya II translated by the Rev P Anderson in 1851 In Volume X we have a transcript of a grant of Dharasena I with remarks on the numerals in the Valabhi plates published by me In Volume XI we have two grants of Sīladitya, the fifteenth prince, and of Śīlāditya I published by V N Mandlik In Volume XX Mr Jackson of the Indian Civil Service has published a grant of Mahārāja Dronasimha, the third of the princes, which is important in this

respect, that it is the earliest hitherto found, and is dated 183 of the Gupta-Valabhī era, corresponding to 501 A D As Dronasimha was the third prince, the date of this grant enables us to fix the foundation of this dynasty in the last quarter of the fifth century. There is also another grant published by the same scholar of of Dhruvasena II, bearing the date 320 of the Gupta era.

No other Inscriptions relating to Kathiawar or Gujarat occur in the journals of our Society till about the thirteenth century. In 1844 Wathen published an Inscription which exists at Somanā-tha—Pattana alluding to the construction of the temple Wathen's translation was very faulty, and the record was again translated by Dr Buhler in Epigraphia Indica, Volume II The latest Cālukya prince mentioned therein is Bhīmadeva II, and the date is 1272 Vikrama, corresponding to 1215 A D There is also an Inscription of princes of the Cūdāsama family, who ruled in Girnar from about the tenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century It refers to a prince of the name of Mandalika

ŚĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY

Turning to Mahārāstra, the oldest Inscriptions we find are those which mention princes of the Śātavāhana or Sālivāhana dynasty They exist in the Nasik cave temples, the Karli cave temples and at Nanaghat, Kanheri, Bhaja, Junnar and Kuda In the period to which they refer, the earlier or Pali Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, and the caves were constructed as rest-houses for the wandering mendicants, and places of worship, for all devotees of Buddhism The earliest of these Inscriptions is that in which Krsnarāja belonging to that dynasty is mentioned It occurs in a small cave at Nasik Copies of the Inscriptions at Kanheri, Nasik, Karli, Bhaja, Junnar and Kuda, prepared by Lieut Brett, were published in 1854 in Volume V of our Journal Those at Kanheri and Nasik were translated from Lieut Brett's copies by the Rev Dr. Stevenson In his time, however, Pali studies had scarcely begun, and consequently his translations are misleading and quite unreliable In Volume VI we have excellent eye-copies of the Kanheri and other Inscriptions by E W West, and in Volume VII of those at Nasik by the same gentleman and his brother, A A West These copies I used for my translation published in the Transactions of the International Oriental Congress

of 1874. A good many years afterwards Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Bühler published their own translations of them Finally we have copies of the Bedsa Inscriptions by A A West in Volume VIII, and in the Inscription published in Vol. XII, the name of Madharīputa Sirisakasena, a Śātavāhana, was brought to light by Pandit Bhagvanlal Papers on the Sanskrit numerals in the cave Inscriptions and on those occurring in the Nanaghat Inscriptions have been published by Dr Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal in Volumes VIII and XII, respectively

THE KṢATRĀPA NAHAPĀNA

The Śātavāhanas established their sovereignty over Mahārāstra in the first century before Christ, but they were displaced about the end of the first century after by a prince of the name of Ksaharāta Nahapāna The Inscriptions of his son-in-law, Usavadāta, the son of Dinīka, occur at Nasik and Karli; and one, of a minister of Nahapāna. at Junnar This Nahapāna is called Mahākṣatrapa and appears to have belonged to the same race which ruled over Kathiawar and Ujjayinī, i e., the Śaka race But there is no trace of a successor of Nahapāna having ruled over Mahārāstra, and it is expressly stated in the large Inscription at Nasik that Khakhārāta's family was exterminated by Gautamīputra This Khakhārāta is Ksaharāta, which was another name of Nahapāna.

The Śakas were driven out about 133 A. D by the Śātavāhanas The names of the princes of this family occurring in our Inscriptions are —

(1) Krsnarāja (2) Śātakarni,
(3) Gautamīputra-Śātakarni (4) Vāsisthīputra Pulumayi,
(5) Gautamīputra Srī Yajña Sātakarni (6) Vasisthīputra Catusparna (Caturapana) Sātakarni,
(7) and Madharīputra Śakasena

The Śatavāhanas are mentioned in Puranic Genealogies by the name of Āndhrabhrtyas The names of all the princes mentioned above, except the last two, occur therein.

The Śātavāhanas seem to have ruled over Mahārāstra till about the end of the second century; and the next dynasty, Inscriptions of which we have in abundance, was founded about the

beginning of the fifth century What princes ruled over th country during the intervening period of three hundred years, we do not know for certain Very probably a family of the name of Traikūtaka ruled over it and a portion of Gujarat during this interval, and used an era which is the same as that used by the rules of Cedi, the country about Jabbalpore and Chattisgad. Its initial date is 249 A D A copper-plate grant found in a Caitya in one of the caves at Kanheri, dated in the 245th year of that dynasty, has been published in Volume V of our Journal ; and another by a prince of the name of Dharasena, issued from the victorious camp of the Traikūtakas, dated 207, is published in Volume XVI These years correspond to 494 and 456 A D There was always a close connection between the rulers of Cedi, called in later times Haihayas and Kalacuris and the Cālukyas and Rāstrakūtas of Mahārāstra The Haihayas may have ruled over this part of the country also in earlier times, and afterwards been driven out by the Early Cālukyas

THE EARLY CĀLUKYA DYNASTY

Now we come to the Early Cālukya dynasty We have in Volume II a grant of Visnuvardhana, brother of Pulakesi II, who began to reign in 610 A D, was on the throne in 634, and was seen by Hioun Thsang in 639 In the same Volume, we have another of Nāgavardhana, son of Jayasimha, another brother of the great Pulakesi In 1851 General Sir Le Grand Jacob published a facsimile, transcript and translation of a grant of Vijayāditya, the ninth prince of the dynasty who ruled from 696 A D to 733 A D, and of another of Vijayabhattārikā, the queen of Candrāditya, the eldest son of Pulakesi II, both found at Nerur, a village in the Savantwadi State, and a third found at Kochare and issued by the same lady These grants contain the genealogy of the family from the first prince Jayasimha to the reigning sovereign A grant of Satyāsrayadhruvarājendravarman issued from Revatīdvīpa under the direction of the Cālukya Lord, dated 532 Saka, has been published by K T Telang in Volume X. In Volume IX, Dr Bhau Daji has noticed the photographs of the Inscriptions at Dharwar and Mysore One of these is the celebrated Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśi II, dated 556 Saka, corresponding to 634 A D. Another is an Inscription in a cave-temple dedicated to Visnu at Badami

by Mangalīśa the fifth prince In Volume XIV a revised transcript and translation of Nāgavardhana's grant, mentioned above, with remarks containing a discussion of the chronology of the Early Cālukyas, and giving the correct date of the Aihole Inscription, have been published by me

A branch of this Early Cālukya dynasty was established in Gujarat, and the capital of that branch appears to have been Navasari A grant of Sryāsraya Sīlāditya Yuvarāja of this branch, dated 421, either of the Gupta or Cedi era, has been published in Volume XVI, and another of Buddhavarsa of the same branch, uncle of the Vikramāditya of the main branch, in Volume XX. In Volume XVI Dr Fleet has published a grant of Ādityavarman, son of Pulakeśi II, three of Vikramāditya I, and one of Vinayāditya, the eighth prince of the dynasty Upon the whole, it may be stated that our journals contain very valuable information about this dynasty

THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA DYNASTY.

The last prince of the Early Cālukya dynasty, Kīrtivarman, was defeated and dethroned by Dantidurga who belonged to the Rāstrakūta race This Rāstrakūta family that had been ruling over some province for at least five generations before, acquired supreme sovereignty in Mahārāstra in the time of Dantidurga His grant found at Samanagad and dated Śaka 675, corresponding to 753 A D, was translated by Bal Shastri Jambhekar and published in 1847 in our Volume II Then in Volume III, we have a grant of Govinda IV, the fifteenth prince, dated Śaka 855 or 933 A D, found at Sangali and translated by General Jacob In Volume XVIII, I published an important grant, bearing date 862 Śaka, corresponding to 940 A D., by Krsna III, one of the most powerful princes of the family found at Deoli near Wardha. The Navasari plates issued by Indra III, the thirteenth prince, dated Śaka 836, translated by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, have been published in the same Volume

In Volume X Dr. Fleet gives an Inscription, in which Prthvīrāma, a feudatory chief, owing allegiance to Krsnarāja, is mentioned as having constructed a Jaina temple at Sugandhavarti, and assigned some land for its support in Śaka 897, corresponding to 975 A. D, and another which records the building of a Jaina temple at

Mulgund in the Śaka year 824, corresponding to 902 A. D. The Krsnarāja here spoken of is Krsna II In the First Volume a grant found at Kharepatan was published in 1843 by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. The grant was issued by a feudatory chief ruling over Southern Konkan In the beginning the whole genealogy of the Rāstrakūtas, from the first prince Dantidurga to the last Kakkala, is given, and it is a valuable document, and has enabled us to correct many a mistake in some later grants and conjectures of modern scholars

A branch of the Rāstrakūta dynasty was established in Gujarat, similar to the one of the Cālukya dynasty noticed before A grant of Karka I of this branch, deciphered, transcribed and translated by D R Bhandarkar, has been published in Volume XXII The date of the grant is 738 Śaka or 816 A D A grant of Abhimanyu belonging to a Rāstrakūta family, which appears to be certainly different from the family that ruled over Mahārāstra, has been published in Volume XVI by Pandit Bhagvanlal

THE LATER CĀLUKYA DYNASTY

The last prince Kakkala of the Rāstrakūta dynasty was vanquished and dethroned by Tailapa who belonged to the Cālukya family, and thus became the founder of the dynasty known by the name of the Later Cālukyas This was an important dynasty; but we have not many documents referring to it in our Journals In Dr. Bhau Daji's notice of the photographs of the Inscriptions at Dharwar and Mysore (referred to above) in Volume IX, we have mention of an Inscription containing the name of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, the sixth prince, in which is recorded the grant by his feudatory Mayūravarman (In Volume X Dr Fleet gives an Inscription which records the grant of land by Śantivarman, a feudatory of Tailapadeva, to a Jaina temple he had constructed at Sugandhavarti in Śaka 902 or 980 A. D This prince was Tailapa, the founder of this dynasty Another, published by the same scholar, mentions Kārtavīrya who is represented as a feudatary of Bhuvanaikamalla; a third records the grant of land by Sena, a dependent of Tribhuvanamalla, but the immediate servant of his son, Jayakarna, in the Śaka year 1009, and a fourth, a grant by Kārtavīrya, a feudatory of the same monarch, in 1019 Śaka) He also notices an Inscription in which Anka, owing allegiance to

Trailokyamalla, is represented to have made a grant in the year 970 Śaka, and Kārtavīrya, in 1009 Śaka

Bhuvanaikamalla was the Cālukya prince Someśvara II, who reigned from about 1069 A D to 1076 A D, Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya II (1076–1127), the patron of Vijñanesvara, the author of the Mitāksarā, and Trailokyamalla was Somesvara I, who reigned from 1040 A D to about 1069 A D

In Volume XI Dr Fleet has published Inscriptions which record grants by chieftains of the Sindavamsa or Sinda race, who were feudatories of the Cālukya Emperors Bhuvanaikamalla, Jagadekamalla, the successor or Someśvara III, and Nuramadi Taila the great-grandson of Vikramāditya In these grants occur the names of all the Cālukya princes from Jayasimha, (the grandson of Tailapa, and the fourth prince of the dynasty) to the reigning monarch

This family had many offshoots, and one of these ruled over Southern Konkan and had Sangameshvar as its capital In Volume II, we have an Inscription of a prince belonging to one of these, and in Volume IV we have another, dated Śaka 1182, corresponding to 1260 A D, found in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District The donor mentioned in it is Kesava Mahājani, minister of a chief of the name of Kāinvadeva Probably, Kāinvadeva belonged to the same dynasty as that which had Sangameshvar for its capital

THE KALACŪRI DYNASTY

The later Calukyas were followed by the Kalacūris A grant of Soma, the son of Bijjana, the founder of the dynasty, dated 1096 Saka, corresponding to 1174 A D, has been published by me with a transcript and translation in Volume XVIII

THE YĀDAVA DYNASTY

The Kalacūri dynasty had a very precarious existence of about 25 years, and it was followed by the Yādavas, who had before been subordinate Chiefs dependent on the Later Cālukyas who were sovereigns of Kalyāna Of the seven ancient Inscriptions noticed by Bal Gangadhar Shastri in the article published in Volume II of our Journal in 1845, Inscription No. II refers to

Mahādeva, the last but one prince of the Yādava dynasty Its date is 1187 Śaka, corresponding to 1265 A. D; and No. III mentions a grant made by an officer of Kannaradeva, which was the Prakrit form of Krsnadeva, his name It is dated 1172 Śaka or 1250 A D. No IV refers to the last prince Rāmadeva or Rāmacandra, and is dated 1194 Śaka In Volume IX we have an Inscription of Krsna, the fourth prince referred to above, dated 1171 Saka and published by Dr Fleet; and in Volume XV that same scholar has published a grant of Singhana, the third prince, dated 1160 Śaka or 1238 A D. This was the last dynasty that ruled over what might be called the Maratha Empire. The last prince, Rāmadeva or Rāmcandra, was defeated by Allauddin, and the Mahomedans soon afterwards established themselves in the Deccan

Several of the Nasik and Karli caves are monuments of the first or Śātavāhana family and of the Mahāksatrapa Nahapāna. The cave dedicated to Visnu at Badami and some temples at Pattadkal and other places in the Kanarese country, are monuments of the second dynasty noticed above, that of the Early Cālukyas, and the temple of Kailāsa carved out of a solid rock, of the third, viz., that of the Rāstrakūtas, the second prince of which, Krsna I, caused it to be excavated The capital of the first dynasty was Paithan, of the second Badami, of the third Malkhed, of the fourth or Later Cālukyas, Kalyāna, and of the fifth viz, that of the Yādavas, Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad It is curious to observe that all these, with the exception of Badami, are situated in the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and have no connection with the main Maratha country It also deserves observation that Mahārāstra has always been politically connected with the Kanarese country, though the latter had petty chiefs of its own It is also worthy of notice that two of our dynasties established themselves in Gujarat as the modern Marathas have done.

THE ŚILĀHĀRA DYNASTY.

Besides the dynasties mentioned above that ruled over the whole Maratha Empire, we have Inscriptions of three branches of subordinate or feudatory chiefs who belonged to a family which was called Śilāra or Silāhāra They trace their origin to a mythical personage, named Jīmūtavāhana, who is mentioned in

Buddhistic books as a Bodhisattva or a person whose predominant feeling is benevolence

THE KOLHAPUR ŚILĀHĀRAS

Of the three branches, one ruled over the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj and Karhad It was composed of fifteen princes. This was the latest of the three dynasties We have an Inscription of the last prince Bhojadeva II published in Volume III of the Literary Society in 1821 by Dr Taylor In Volume II of our Journal there are notices by Bal Gangadhar Shastri of Inscriptions, one of which, dated 1065 Śaka, refers to Vijayaditya, the fourteenth prince; another, dated 1058 Saka, to Gandarāditya, the thirteenth; and a third to Vijayāditya already mentioned In Volume XIII we have a facsimile, transcript and translation of a copper-plate grant of Gandarāditya, dated 1032 Śaka, corresponding to 1110 A D, published by Pandit Bhagvanlal This dynasty appears to have been founded in the time of the Rāstrakūta king Krsna III and exterminated by the Yādava king Singhana, who subdued the last prince Bhoja

THE NORTH KONKAN ŚILĀHĀRAS

The dynasty of the Silāhāras of Northern Konkan was founded in the time of Amoghavarsa I, the Rāstrakūta prince He assigned that province to Pullasakti and to his son Kapardin belonging to that family, as we see from Inscriptions occurring in the Kanheri Caves, copies of which, prepared by West, have been published in Volume VI of our Journal. Two of these Inscriptions were again generally inspected by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and his versions of the portions he saw, are given in Volume XIII The dates occurring in them are 775 and 779 of the Śaka era There is a facsimile, transcript and translation of a grant by Aparāditya, one of the latest princes, dated Saka 1049 or 1127 A. D, in Volume XXI, published by Professor K B Pathak An Inscription on a stone found near the old Government House at Parel, which is now in the Society's Museum, has been published by Pandit Bhagvanlal in Volume XII It records the assignment of a portion of the revenue of a certain oart in the village of Maholi in Salsette, which was in the possession of Ananta Prabhu Pai, for the worship of Vaidyanātha Deva by a king of the name of Aparāditya in the month of Māgha in the year 1109 Śaka,

corresponding to 1187 A D One of these two Aparādityas, probably the later one, was the writer of the Commentary on the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya, which is so famous This dynasty was put an end to, a short time after 1260 A D, by the Yādava prince Mahādeva who vanquished Someśvara, the last ruler of Northern Konkan

THE SOUTH KONKAN SILĀHĀRAS

The third branch of the Silāhāra family was established in Southern Konkan in the time of Krsna I of the Rāstrakūta dynasty, about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era and the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka era The genealogy of this branch up to Saka year 930, corresponding to 1008 A D, is given in the Kharepatan grant published in Volume I of our Journal by Bal Gangadhar Shastri The subsequent history of this branch we do not know

THE KADAMBA DYNASTY

Volumes IX and XII bring before us another line of princes and chiefs, viz, that of the Kadambas Dr Fleet gives in the first, seven Inscriptions (No 1—7) of princes, beginning with Kakusthavarman, and Mr K T Telang in the second, three, the names of the princes in which are different But all the records speak of the princes as sons of Hārīti and of the Mānavyagotra, and as worshippers of Mahāsena and the Mātrs or goddesses The Early Cālukya princes are so described in their plates Again, Dr Fleet gives in his first article in Volume IX one Inscription of another set of Kadamba kings or chiefs, and seven in his second article. The names here are different from those in the other Inscriptions. Of these the second chief Jayakesi is spoken of in the grants as having made Gopapattana or Goa his capital His grandson Jayakesi II married Mailalamahādevī, the daughter of Vikramāditya II (1076 A D —1126 A D) of the Later Cālukya dynasty, and this circumstance was considered as having conferred so much dignity on the family that it is repeated in all the grants.

The chiefs are also described as Banavāsīpuravarādhīśvara, i e, lords of the great city of Banavāsī, and, like many such expressions, it means that they were descended from a line of princes who reigned gloriously at Banavāsī And we know from other

sources that Banavāsī in North Kanara was ruled over by princes of the Kadamba race The princes, therefore, who are described in terms similar to those used in the case of the Early Cālukyas were the rulers of Banavāsī, and were contemporaries or even predecessors of the Early Cālukyas They were adherents of the Jainas, and their grants are made to Jaina temples The later Kadambas of Goa were an offshoot of the original Banavāsī Kadambas, as the Konkan Cālukyas were of the dynasty that ruled over Kalyāna and were adherents of Brahmanism

In Volume XII are published three copper-plate grants of princes of the Vijayanagara dynasty by Dr Fleet One, dated 1276 Śaka, was made by Bukkarāja, the founder of the dynasty; another by Harihara, his son and successor, and is dated 1301 Śaka; and the third, dated 1434 Śaka, is by Krsnarāya In Volume IV is published a grant in which Mādhava, Harihara's Viceroy at Jayantīpura, which is to be probably identified with Banavāsī, is represented to have besieged Goa, killed hosts of Turuskas, probably Mahomedans, and captured the place After his death Narahari was appointed Viceroy Mādhava who is spoken of as the Great Counsellor, and the Ācārya who introduced the path marked down by the Upanisads, granted the village of Kuchara as a means of subsistence to 25 families of Brahmans The boundaries of the village were —to the east, the village of Pāta, to the south, the village of Mhāpana, to the west, the sea, and to the north, the village of Paraulya All these villages are to the south of Malwan and north of Vengurla, and the village Kuchara, to which, in honour of Mādhava the Viceroy, the name Mādhavapurī was given, is probably the present village of Kochare. It thus appears that the territory of the Vijayanagara kings extended at that time to Vengurla and Malwan The grant was made in Śaka 1313, corresponding to 1391 A D, by Mādhava, but appears to have been carried out by his successor, Narahari Mādhava, called Mahāpradhāna, who is represented as Bukka's Viceroy, governing the Banavāsī Twelve Thousand, in an Inscription, dated Śaka 1290 = 1368 A D, existing at Banavāsī.

In Volume VII, Dr Bhau Daji has published Inscriptions of the Vākātaka dynasty occurring at Ajanta In Volume XIX, we have a facsimile, transcript and translation of an Inscription in

the temple of Āmranātha near Kalyan by the same scholar. He read the date as 782 Śaka, but in a revised transcript and translation of the same Inscription by Pandit Bhagvanlal, published in Volume XII, it is read as 982.

In Volume I, we have a very valuable record of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa It is inscribed on a stone found at Nagpur, and was translated by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. It has recently been edited by Kielhorn and published in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II.

In Volume XXI, we have an article by D R Bhandarkar The names of princes of Kanauj occurring in certain Inscriptions on stones at Gwalior, Pehewa and Siyadoni are Rāmabhadra, Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla, each preceding one being father of the succeeding. The names occurring in certain copper-plate grants are the same, with the exception of the last, and the order is the same The princes also are represented as issuing their charters from Mahodaya which is another name of Kanauj, and still they were considered as belonging to a different dynasty from that of Kanauj Mr Bhandarkar after an examination of the arguments advanced, comes to the conclusion that the princes are the same as those of the stone Inscriptions, and he also explains the difference as to the last name

In another paper in the same Volume he discusses the question of the race of these kings, and concludes that they were the Gūrjaras against whom our Rāstrakūta princes, Dhruva, Govinda III, Krsna II, and most of the others, were at war. Both dynasties were equally powerful This Gūrjara dynasty was established at Kanauj about the middle of the eighth century, since its second prince Vatsarāja was a contemporary of our Dhruva Nirupama, and, according to a statement in the Jaina Harivamśa, was reigning in Saka 705, corresponding to 783 A D. Mahendrapāla, the patron and pupil of the poet Rājaśekhara, was the great-grandson of Vatsarāja, and was on the throne in 903 A. D. and 907 A D Rājaśekhara traces the pedigree of his patron to the race of Raghu or the Solar race while he was a Gūrjara and a foreigner, though naturalized and become a thorough Hindu.

I subjoin a list of the remaining miscellaneous Inscriptions.

Vol. I, pp. 96–103—A record of the benefactions of the Emperor Akbar at Palitana to the Jains and of the goldsmith Tejapal.

Do. p. 259.—Copy of an Inscription found on a tablet at Nagpur.

Vol. X, p. 19—Copper-plate grant of Gūrjara Dadda II, son of Jayabhata, 417 Śaka, by R. G Bhandarkar

Do. p. 46—Rudradeva's Inscription at Anamakond, dated 1064 Śaka, a transcript and translation of—, by Bhau Daji.

Do. p. 63.—A revised transcript and translation of the Inscription on the Delhi iron pillar, by Bhau Daji.

Vol. XIV, p. 71—A few notes on the Inscriptions in Kutch, by V N Mandlik

Vol XVI, p 114—A Godāvarī copper-plate grant of the Rājā Prthvīmūla, by Fleet

Do. p. 357—An Inscription from Buddha Gayā of King Aśokavalla, dated 51 of the era of Laksmana Sena

Do. p 378.—An Inscription from Kota of Śivagana, dated 796, of the Lords of Malwa

Vol XVII, p. 1—A Buddhistic Sanskrit Inscription from Java, mentioning the construction of a temple of Tārā in the Saka year 700, by R G Bhandarkar

Vol XIX, p 348—An Inscription on the three gateways at Ahmedabad, 1868 Samvat, or 1812 A. D., of the time of Fattesingh Gaikwar, containing an order for removing a grievance as regards inheritance

Vol. XX, p 106.—Inscription on three bricks received from a place 200 miles from Mandalay in Burma, consisting of the usual Buddhistic formula ये धर्मा, &c [by R.G. Bhandarkar]

Do p. 211—A grant from the Broach District by Samgamasimha, a feudatory, bearing the date 292, probably of the Cedi era, by Mr Jackson.

Do. p. 269.—A Kusana stone-Inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka era, by D. R. Bhandarkar.

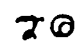
A DEVANĀGARĪ TRANSCRIPT, TRANSLATION AND DATE OF A VALABHĪ COPPER-PLATE

AND A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURED DATES ON THE GRANTS OF THE VALABHĪ DYNASTY.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume X, 1871-74, pages 66ff]

This paper was read on the 11th of January 1872 before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was published in the Journal of that Society The Translation and Remarks at the end of the paper were published in the first number of the Indian Antiquary, bearing date January 5, 1872 —N. B U.

The Valabhī copper-plate, a Devanāgarī transcript of which I submit to the Society to-day was put into my hands by Mr Burgess about two months ago My translation of it, with remarks, has already appeared in the first number of the Indian Antiquary [1] I will therefore to-day proceed to the consideration of its date, and of those of all the Valabhī plates hitherto discovered and published

In this copper-plate the date is given in figures, thus  . The first symbol consists of a vertical line having at the lower end a circular loop with a point coming out on the right, and at the top a stroke consisting of two small curves on the left and a small curvilinear stroke on the right This symbol, more or less modified, is often met with in the Valabhī copper-plates and the Surāstra coins The second consists of a circle with a smaller one touching it internally, and the last resembles the modern Devanāgarī ६ six

Before endeavouring to interpret this date, it must be premised that the value of the ancient Sanskrit numerals does not depend on position Each symbol has a fixed value wherever it may be placed The first figure in the present case has always been understood to signify three hundred, from the evidence of

1 It is published in this Volume immediately after this paper.—N B U.

Dr. Burn's Cālukya and Gūrjara plates. But subsequently, when it was found on the coins of fourteen or fifteen different kings of the Sāh dynasty, a doubt was thrown on the received interpretation Mr. Thomas, on a careful observation of the numerals on these coins, found a variation in the form and number of the side-strokes, from which he gathered that the value of the symbol was, in some manner unknown to him, modified by these strokes[1] But the exact signification of these was given by our learned Vice-President, Dr Bhau Daji In his paper[2] on the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals he tells us that the symbol without the right-hand strokes represents one hundred, with one stroke it signifies two hundred, and with two, three hundred Dr Bhau's conclusions are based chiefly on the numerals found in the Nasik Cave-Inscriptions I have carefully examined Mr West's lithographs[3] of these, and I am convinced of the truth of this view In the same Inscription (No 25) the numbers 'one hundred' and 'two hundred' occur in words as well as figures The figures are  and  the first having no side stroke, while the second has one. In the same manner, in No 16, the words corresponding to 'two thousand' and 'three thousand' occur in the fifth and fourth lines, and along with them the symbol for a thousand with one side-stroke in the first case and with two in the second. In other places also we find the same, so that there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt as to the truth of Dr Bhau's theory It is also confirmed by the numerals on the Surāstra coins[4]

The symbol for one hundred in the present copper-plate has besides the two side-strokes, a circular loop at the lower end I first thought that this represented another stroke on the left-hand side, so that the whole expressed four hundred But from the Nasik inscriptions[5] I find that the way of representing four hundred or four thousand was by annexing the figure equivalent to four to the symbol for a hundred or a thousand And in the

1 JRAS, Vol XII, p 35 note.

2 JBBRAS, Vol VIII, No 21

3 JBBRAS, Vol VII, No 22.

4 Mr Justice Newton's paper, JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22 pp. 27, 28.

5 Mr. West's lithographs Nos. 17 and 18.

facsimile of one of Dr. Burn's Gūrjara copper-plates given by Prof. Dowson,[1] in which the date 385 is given in words as well as figures, I find that the first symbol has a loop similar to that in the present plate. There can, therefore, be no doubt, I think, that the first figure here represents three hundred The loop is merely a flourish.

The endeavours to decipher the figures in the place of tens have not been so successful We know the symbols for ten, forty, eighty, and ninety; but of the rest we do not know some at all, and have but an imperfect knowledge of the others. Dr Bhau quotes an Inscription from Karla in which a symbol somewhat resembling the second figure in the present plate is given, with its value stated in words, as 'twenty' Other considerations also show that the figure must be thus interpreted It occurs twice in the Nasik Inscription No 25 In both places Dr Stevenson takes it to be equal to twenty,[2] but Dr Bhau attaches that value to it in one place, and in the other the symbol appears to have escaped his attention, since he gives in his paper on the Numerals[3] the value of the second figure in it only, which is four The figure occurs in that Inscription at Nasik which is considered to be a deed of sale, and the deed is there said to have been executed at the orders of Gotamīputra in the year represented by the symbols In another Inscription (No 26), in which Gotamīputra's exploits are enumerated, his wife assigns the cave in which it occurs for the use of religious mendicants in the 19th year Padumāyi. Both these things, therefore, took place in his reign, and very shortly after each other. The symbol under consideration cannot have been intended for ten ; for that number is represented by a totally different mark. It stands therefore, very likely, for 20 The same figure occurs on a coin of Visva Sāh, the 15th king in Mr Newton's[4] list The second figure on his other coins is that which we know represents 10, and the whole date appears to be 217. The former symbol, therefore, must stand for 20.

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1 JRAS, Vol I, New Series.

2 JBBRAS, Vol V, p. 43.

3 [JBBRAS, Vol VIII,] p 228, under Cave No 23.

4 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 28, and Mr. Thomas's paper on the Sāh Dynasty, JRAS, Vol. XII, p. 59.

(The last figure in our grant resembles, as I have said, our modern ६, and that has generally been considered its value) The symbol occurs in one of Dr Bhau's quotations[1] with the word षट्, signifying six, after it The date of the present grant is therefore, I feel sure, 326

This grant is by Dharasena IV, the great grandson of Dharasena II, as I have shown in the genealogical table[2] But the figured date of the copper-plate of this last monarch, deciphered and translated by Mr. Wathen, is usually considered to refer to the fourth century of some era. Mr. Prinsep[3] and Mr Thomas[4] interpret it as equal to 300 + some undetermined quantity The Rev Philip Anderson[5] thinks it to be 330 Dr Bhau, in his paper on the Numerals, gives five dates with their facsimiles from Valabhī plates None of these latter resembles the date in any of the three grants I know of, but the one which is somewhat like that in Mr Wathen's plate, is interpreted by him as 332 In the same Volume of the Journal, however, in another paper,[6] he assigns to Dharasena II, the dates 322 and 326, which, by the way, are not to be met with in the former list If, then, I have interpreted the date in the present copper-plate correctly, and if, at the same time, Mr Anderson and Dr Bhau are right in their readings of the dates of Dharasena I, it follows that Dharasena IV reigned at Valabhī four or six years before his great-grandfather, or in the same year as he, or only four years after him And even if we assign to the odd number of the date in Mr Wathen's plate, the least possible value, viz 12, and consider the date to be 312, fourteen years is too short a time for five reigns, or for the great-grandson to come to the throne after his father, uncle, grandfather, and great-grandfather The supposition that the eras used by the two monarchs may have been different is, I think, unreasonable One of two conclusions then must follow Either my reading of the date of the present grant is wrong, or Mr Anderson, Dr

1 Sanskrit Numerals, [JBBRAS, Vol VIII,] p. 229 under Cave No 4

2 See the Remarks at the end of this paper [N B U]

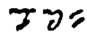
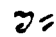
3 JASB, Vol VII, p 349

4 Paper on the Sāh Dynasty, [JRAS, Vol. XII,] p. 5, note

5 JBBRAS, Vol III, p 216

6 [JBBRAS, Vol VIII,] p. 245.

Bhau and other antiquarians, have assigned a wrong date to Dharasena II

Fortunately, in this difficulty, Mr Wathen's copper-plate happens to be in the Museum of this Society. On examining the date, which is  it will be found that the figure representing hundreds has only one side-stroke And even in Mr Wathen's lithographed copy given in the Fourth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, and in Mr. Prinsep's table of the numerals in the Seventh Volume, the symbol has one stroke All subsequent writers, however, and even Mr Prinsep in another place[1] add one more It thus appears that the first figure in the grant of Dharasena II is equivalent to 200. But this does not altogether remove the difficulty The effect of this new reading would be to throw back Dharasena II by the whole century, if the other two figures were to have the same value as that hitherto assigned to them And I shall presently show that a century's interval between Dharasena II, and his great-grandson would be too long The question then is, what value should be assigned to the other two figures, which are  Our knowledge of the symbols for tens is, as I have observed before, imperfect Something like the second figure in Mr Wathen's plate occurs in Dr Bhau's quotation from the Ābhīra[2] Inscription at Nasik, and he interprets it as 2 But I do not find the figure in Mr West's[3] lithograph of the Inscription; and instead of that, there is after the word (two), the usual symbol of that number, viz two short horizontal strokes In the table given by him in the same paper I again observe the symbol opposite to the number 20[4] But Dr. Bhau has given no authority for assigning that value to it, and I am inclined to think that it is a misprint for the figure which has now been interpreted as 20 In fixing the value of the symbol under consideration, it should be borne in mind that the same minister, Skandabhata, executed the grant of Dharasena II, and also the present one

Dr Burn's copper-plates have acquainted us with the symbols

1 JASB, Vol. VII, p 349
2 Paper on the Numerals [as above quoted]
3 No 15, l 10
4. [JBBRAS, Vol, VII,] p. 321.

for eighty and ninety; and from the Nasik and other Cave-Inscriptions we have been able to determine the values of three more, viz. those for ten, twenty, and forty.[1] The figure in Mr. Wathen's copper-plate does not resemble any of these five It must therefore be interpreted as thirty, fifty, sixty, or seventy. If these values were assigned to it successively, the date would be 232, 252, 262, or 272 (the last figure, consisting of two simple strokes, clearly representing 2), and Skandabhata's tenure of office would be 94, 74, 64, or 54 years The last number must be accepted as the most probable, and it thus determines the date to be 272, and hence the symbol must be understood to represent seventy A tenure of 54 years would not be too long for any individual holder of an hereditary office, though there would be a very great degree of improbability in the supposition of each of three or four members of a family holding it successively for as long a period. George III reigned for 60 years, but the reigns of George IV and William IV were very short. The symbol the value of which I have been discussing bears a sufficient resemblance, making allowance for the difference of time, to that for seventy in Rudradāman's Girnar Inscription, in which the date 72 is given in words and figures Mr. Prinsep's transcript[2] of it is,  , General Jacob's and Mr. Westergaard's[3]  and Dr Bhau's  . Dr Bhau's[4] differs from the other two in having a stroke on the right-hand side, and this makes it look rather like 40. Of the three, it resembles the figure in Mr Wathen's plate the least, the other two being more like it

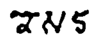
Mr. Wathen's second copper-plate is also in the Museum of this Society. It resembles in most respects Dr Burn's No 4, a modern Devanāgarī transcript of which is given in the Seventh

1 In his table Dr. Bhau gives symbols for 30 and 70, but I have not been able to find his evidence for them in his paper One of those he puts down under 70 is very unlike the transcript he himself gives of the symbol for that number occurring in Rudradāman's Inscription. And the transcript ı , as I have shown further on, different from that given by two previous transcribers.

2 JASB, Vol VII, p. 334, lith.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. I, p 149, lith , l 4.

4 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No, 22 lith., l, 4.

Volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. The grantor in both cases is the same He was, as I have shown,[1] Śilāditya II, the third king after Dharasena IV, the grantor in the present plate The figured date of both is  [2] The first symbol stands for 300 and the last for 6. The value of the second, which resembles the letter sa , has generally been taken to be 70 But we have already assigned that value to a totally different symbol, and if this also were taken to represent 70 the date of these two plates would be 376, i e., the interval between Dharasena IV and Śilāditya II, would be 50 years, and that between this latter king and Dharasena II, 104 years The minister who prepared the deed in Śilāditya's time was Madana Hala, the son of Skandabhata, so that this reading would give to the father and son together a tenure of the office for at least 104 years But, as I have already remarked, the son holds an hereditary office only for a short time if the father has enjoyed it for a long time Each year added to the father's tenure must, it appears to me, be taken away from the son's There is probably no instance in history of a father and son holding an office in succession for 104 years. I think, therefore, that the second symbol in these places cannot have been meant for 70 The only tens now available in fixing the value of this symbol are 30, 50, and 60, the rest having been already appropriated. 30 would not do, as the resulting date 336 would limit the duration of three reigns to ten years Sixty would, like seventy, give, I think, too long a time to Skandabhata's son But even if it should be thought otherwise, the dates on the Sāh coins appear to support the interpretation of the symbol under consideration as equal to 50 rather than 60 For after Rudra Sāh,[3] the twelfth in Mr Newton's list, reigned in succession his two sons, Visva Simha and Atri Dāma, then his grandson Viśva Sāh, son of Atri Dāma, and after some interval his third son, Aśa Dāma One of Rudra Sāh's coins bears the date 197, one of Atri Dāma's 214, one of Visva Sāh's 227, and one of Aśa Dāma's, a date

1 Ind Ant, Vol. I, p. 18.

2 JASB, Vol VII, p 349

3 JBBRAS, Vol VII

the second symbol in which is the one we have been considering. The most probable values in this case are 30 and 40, for a coin of his predecessor bears the date 227. But 40 has another and well-ascertained symbol; and 30, I have rejected above on independent grounds The value which ranks next in probability is 50; 60 would render Asa Dāma's reign too long, and make him live about 40 years, or 33 at least, after his second brother The date of Mr Wathen's second copper-plate and of Dr Burn's, the grantor in both of which is Śīlāditya II, appears thus to be 356 Dr Bhau gives under one Śīlāditya the date 338,[1] and under another 346 and 348 He does not tell us whether these are his interpretations of the figures in the two copper-plates I have been speaking of, *but if they are, I do not know on what authority he takes the sym*bol resembling the letter  sa to represent 30 or 40. In his own table of numerals he does not put the symbol under 30 or 40, nor does it occur there at all

My conclusions therefore are that the figure  stands for 50, and  for 70, and that the date of the grant of Dharasena II, discovered by Mr Wathen is 272, and not 330, 332, 326, 322, or 300 and odd, as given by the various writers I have quoted, of Dharasena IV, 326, and of Śīlāditya II, 356, and not 375 The interval between Dharasena II and Śīlāditya II is thus 84 years, and not 40 or 45 as the interpretations of the dates hitherto received have led Indian antiquarians to suppose. According to Dr Bhau the whole dynasty did not last for more than 40 years[2] The reason generally given is that though there were many successions to the Gādi during the interval, only one minister and his son served all the kings But there is, I submit, no impossibility whatever in the circumstances of a father and his son holding an office for 84 years between them. Henry III and Edward I reigned in England for 91 years. And 40 or 45 years is certainly too small a period for seven or eight reigns. It appears to me very improbable that a son of the great-grandson of a king should be reigning only about 45 years after him And Śīlāditya II, the grantor in Mr. Wathen's second

1 JBBRAS, Vol VIII, p. 245.

2 Ibid.

plate, was the son of the great-grandson of Dharasena II, as I have shown in the genealogy referred to above.

The question remains,—To what era are these dates to be referred? A good many antiquarians refer them to Vikrama's, and some to that of the Valabhi dynasty itself. Mr Thomas, however, thinks the era used to be the Śaka,[1] and our learned Vice-President, Dr. Bhau, has consistently maintained this for many years. My humble opinion coincides with Dr Bhau's Not only do we find the words Śaka-Kāla used in those records of the period in which the era is specified, but I think there is a reason why that era should have been used The name Śaka-nrpa-kāla, or the era of the Śaka king, and the fact of the existence of such an era, show that there was a great king from whose date it originated, that he and his descendants governed the count y, and that he was a foreigner and belonged to a tribe known to the Indian Āryas by the name of Sakas Now, from the Cave-Inscriptions and the Surāstra coins, we find that the whole of Gujarat and a great part of Mahārāstra, with some ad acent countries, were for about three centuries governed by kings who called themselves Ksatrapas. Though a Sanskrit etymology has been given to the word, there can be no question that it is of foreign origin and is the same as the Persian word Satrap. The earliest person who is known to have borne the title was Nahapāna, spoken of in the Cave-Inscriptions as the Ksatrapa of a king named Ksaharāta Another Satrap was called Castana. These three names are unquestionably foreign and are considered to be Parthian. The name Sāh of the Satrap dynasty of Surāstra is also not of Sanskrit origin. It appears, therefore, that the kings who bore the title of Ksatrapas were Parthian by descent, though they were afterwards domiciled in the country, used the Sanskrit language, and took Sanskrit names Nahapāna or his sovereign, or any one else who conquered this portion of India and established the Satrap dynasty, must have been the Saka king from whom the era originated And Usavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, is called a Śaka in one of the Nasik Inscripiions.[2] The era must have been used by the dynasty itself, and conse-

1 Paper on the Sāh Dynasty

2 No. 14, JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No 22.

quently by the people, just as we at the present day, even in our private transactions, use the Christian era.

When the Satraps were superseded by the Valabhīs in Surāṣṭra, and by the Cālukyas in Mahārāṣṭra, the same era to which the people had been accustomed for about three centuries must have continued in use, and been used by the conquering dynasties themselves. After the Marathas had put down the Mahomedans and established their sway, they always used the Mahomedan era, sometimes along with, but often without, the Śaka, notwithstanding the endeavours of Shivaji to sanskritize his Durbar. And this Mahomedan era continued to be used even by British Mamlatdars, Mahalkaris, and Munsifs in their official letters until recently. From what has taken place in recent times, we may infer what must have occurred fifteen centuries ago. If we have seen the Maratha Rājās and the Brahman Peshwas using the Mahomedan era, notwithstanding that they had the advantage of another more ancient, we should certainly expect to find the Valabhīs and the Cālukyas using the era of the Satraps whom they succeeded, especially when they had no other.

And if we refer the Valabhī dates to the era of Śaka kings, we arrive at an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhī era, ascertained by Col. Tod to have commenced in 319 A. D. The date 272 of the grant of Dharasena II, if referred to the era of Vikrama is equal to 216 A. D., i. e., the Valabhī era must be supposed to have originated 103 years after Dharasena's grant was executed. But it is difficult to conceive what event in the history of those kings, so important as to give rise to a new era, could have taken place at that time, except it be the overthrow of the dynasty or the destruction of Valabhī. But we have no evidence to show that there was a revolution in the country in 319 A. D. Valabhī was the capital of a kingdom in the time of Hwan Thsang, and the overthrow of a reigning family does not appear to me to be such an occurrence as would give rise to a new era called after the family. It would in such a case bear the name of the conqueror, and not of the conquered. If, however, the date 272 were referred to the Saka-kāla, it would be equivalent to 350 A. D., i. e., it would show that Dharasena II was reigning at Valabhī in the 31st year

of the era of his family. The best starting-point for the era is, in my opinion, the coronation of Drona-Simha, the second son of Bhatārka. The latter had, no doubt, laid the foundations of the greatness of the family, but he and his first son did not assume the title of King, and were called Senāpatis or Commanders of forces. Drona-simha is the first member of the dynasty to whom the title of Mahārāja or King is given in Mr Wathen's first copper-plate, and he is there spoken of as having been crowned by the only sovereign of the whole world, whoever he may have been The independence of the Valabhī kings therefore dates from this event

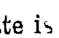
After Drona-Simha, his two brothers governed the kingdom successively. The reigns of brothers succeeding each other cannot be very long, and even Guhasena, the son of Dharapatta the last brother, and father of Dharasena II, must have been a pretty old man when he began to reign, for he came to the throne after his three uncles and his father Drona-Simha also must have received the title of Mahārāja some years after he succeeded his brother I therefore think that 31 years is a sufficiently long period for a portion of the reign of Drona-Simha and the whole reigns of his two brothers and Guhasena These considerations, in my opinion, go a great way towards showing that the Valabhī princes used the era of the Saka kings Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhī era[1], but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 years—or, according to the old reading, 330 years—is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhatārka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Drona-Simha's coronation

The conclusions, then, at which I arrive are—that the date of the grant of Dharasena II, discovered by Mr Wathen is 272 Saka, corresponding to 350 A D; that of the present grant is 326 Śaka or 404 A D, and that of those of Sīlāditya II is 356 Śaka, i. e, 434 A D.

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1 JRAS, Vol. IV, New Series. p. 90.

Since the above was written, Mr. Burgess has kindly placed in my hands the second halves of two copper-plate grants of the dynasty found in the ruins of Valabhī Both are greatly damaged, but the smaller one more so than the other. The surface was at first covered over by a thick crust of some hard but brittle substance, so that the letters were not distinct What was observable on the smaller plate was the sign-manual of the king and the date. But the date without the name of the grantor was of little use I then placed the plates in a vessel containing water mixed with tamarind for a whole night, and the next morning when the hard substance had softened a little, scratched it off with a knife. The letters are now more distinct In the first line of the smaller plate the following words occur .—सुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वर श्रीशिला "Srī Śīlā whose second name Dharmāditya was procured for him by his enjoyment of prosperity being " The part of the plate, containing the syllables दित्य forming the latter part of the name and two or three words more, is broken off Then follow the words युक्तकविनियुक्तक, after which some letters are illegible, and then समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं, " commands ' Be it known to you ' "

Dharmāditya, we know, was another name of Sīlāditya, son of Dharasena II, and the words preceding his name in other plates are the same as here The grantor, therefore, is Śīlāditya I The date is  The first figure has one side-stroke only, on which account it represents 200 The second is that which stands for 80 in Dr Burn's plates The common chord, however, on which the segments here stand is not quite a straight line, and the whole has the appearance of two irregular circles touching each other But the figure occurs in this slightly modified form on some coins[1] of the Sāh dynasty The last figure is 6, so that the whole date is 286. This remarkably confirms my reading of the date of Mr. Wathen's first plate, and especially of the second figure in it If the date of this grant of the son and successor of Dharasena II is 286, that of one of Dharasena himself may well be 272

These two plates,[2] broken and mutilated as they are, are very

2 See Mr Newton's paper, JBBRAS, Vol VII, p. 28, under Rudra Sāh.

3 These have been translated in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, pp. 45ff, and are included in this volume later [N B U.]

interesting Those hitherto discovered record grants of land to Brahmans, but in these I observe grants made to Buddhistic Vihāras or monasteries for the support of the mendicant priests from "the four quarters residing in them", as well as for providing the means of worshipping the great Buddhas, such as incense, flowers, and lamp-oil The grant in the larger plate is to a Vihāra constructed at the village of Yodhāvaka, by the minister Skandabhaṭa, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We thus see that the Valabhi kings patronized Brahmans as well as Buddhists, and sectarian animosity did not exist Buddhism still flourished side by side with Brahmanism, and the worship of the images of the several Buddhas formed part of the religion. But I reserve these plates for a fuller consideration on some future occasion

TRANSCRIPT OF THE VALABHI COPPER-PLATE REFERRED TO ABOVE

।१। स्वस्ति व[1]लभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबल[2]सपत्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्त[3]प्रहारशत-
लब्धप्र ।२। तापा[4]त्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागा[5]दनुरक्तमौ[6]लभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परम-
माहे ।३। श्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैश-
वात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबा ।४। हुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितप्र[7]काशितसत्त्वनिकषः तत्प्रभाव-
प्रणतारा[8]तिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनख ।५। रश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजा-
हृद[9]यरञ्जनान्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्य ।६। बुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदश-
गुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ता ।७। शेषस्व[10]कार्यफलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थ-
प्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्ड[11]लाभोगप्रमो ।८। दः परममाहेश्वरः श्री-
गुह[12]सेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानवि[13]सृतजाह्नवीजलौ[14]घप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयि ।९। शत-
सहस्रोपजी[15]व्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभ[16]समाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविशे[17]षविस्मा-
पिता ।१०। खिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारि

१ विजयस्कन्धावारा[illegible] W 2 २ सपत्न W 1 ३ सप्रहार W 1
४ प्रताप प्रताप प्रताप प्रताप W 1 ५ W 2 repeats अनुरागात्
६ मौलभृतमित्रश्रेणी W 1, [illegible] भृत W 2 ७ W 1 & 2 om one प्रकाशित
८ संसक्तसव्यपाद W 1 ९ रञ्जनादन्वर्थ W 1 १० स्वकार्यफल प्रार्थना°
W 1 कार्यफलप्रार्थना W 2 ११ W 1 has मण्ड १२ श्रीमहाराजगुह° W 1
१३ निसृत W १४ [illegible] W 1 १५ उपजीव्यभोगसम्पत्.
१६ सनम्य W 1 १७ W 1 om one विशे

णामुपप्लुता । ११ । ना [१८]दिशा [दर्शा] यिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य [१९]संहितारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरि[२०]भोगदक्ष-
[२१]विक्रमो विक्रमोपसम्प्राप्तविमलपार्थिव । १२ । श्री परममा[२२]हेश्वर श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यात
सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्र । १३ । दिङ्मण्डल समरशतविजयशोभासनाथम-
ण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरांसपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभार सर्व्व । १४ । विद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि
सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेना [वितलेखना]पि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोष समग्रलोकागाध । १५ । गाम्भीर्य्यहृद-
योपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभाव- खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतो । १६ । दग्र-
कीर्त्तिर्धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वर श्रीशिला
। १७ । दित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यात स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राज-
लक्ष्मी स्कन्धासक्त । १८ । परमभद्र इव धुर्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितस-
त्वसम्पत्ति प्रभावसम्पद्वशी । १९ । कृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसाना-
लिङ्गितमनोवृत्ति प्रणतिमेका परि । २० । त्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियो-
पाय कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहति । २१ । प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीचजनाधि-
रोहिभिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदय प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्र । २२ । कौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मी-
स्वयग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम [ ]परममाहेश्वर । २३ । श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पा-
दानुध्यात सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमन परितोषातिशय- सत्वस । २४ । म्पदा त्यागौदा-
र्य्येण च विगतानुसंधानसमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्ग सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरि । २५ ।
तगम्भीरविभागो [वा]पि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषण समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्य-
[च]लोदग्र । २६ । बाहुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदय स्वधनु प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमान
सकलनृपति । २७ । मण्डलाभिनन्दितशासन परममाहेश्वर श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यात सच्च-
रितातिशयित । २८ । सकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साध्यानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणा मूर्तिमानिव पुरुषकार
परिवृद्ध । २९ । गुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्म्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्न : प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलाप
कान्तिमान्नि । ३० । र्वृतिहेतुरकल[२३]ङ्क कुमुदनाथ प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशिस्स-
ततोदितस्स । ३१ । विता प्रकृतिभ्य परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं विदधान
सन्धिविग्रह । ३२ । समासनिश्चयनिपुण स्थानेनुरूपमादेश ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधून
[२४]राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरु । ३३ । भयोरपि निष्णात. प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदय श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वित
[२५]कान्तो[न्तो]पि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्योपि निर । ३४ । सिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुप[२६]जनितजनतानुराग-
परिपीडितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परम । ३५ । माहेश्वर श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पाद-
कमलप्रणामधरणिकषणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकल शिशुभाव एव । ३६ । श्रवणनिहित-
मौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेष प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविन्द कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्र । ३७ ।
हणादमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्वसुन्धराया कार्म्मुके धनुर्वेद इव सम्भाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलाप प्रणतसामन्त-

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१८ दर्शयिता W 1   १९ महता° W 1.   २० परिक्षोभ W 1.

२१ क्रमोप° W. 1   २२ °माहेश्वरो महाराज श्रीधर° W 1

२३ °लङ्क. Bs

२४ शालातुरीय Bs   २५ कान्तोपि Bs.   २६ जनानुराग Bs

W 1 signifies Wathen's first plate.

W. 2 do second do

Bs signifies the plate translated in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, p. 45

मण्डलोत्तमाङ्ग ।३८। धृतचूडारत्नायमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्ती श्रीअज्जकपादानुध्यातः । ३९ । श्रीधरसेनः कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्सं-विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय ।४०। सिंहपुरविनिर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामनिवासीसिंहपुरचातु-र्व्विद्यसामान्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगु ।४१। हाढ्यपुत्रब्राह्मणार्जुनाय सुराष्ट्रेषु काला-पकपथकान्तर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिवाटकशर्करापद्रकदक्षिणसीम्नि ष ।४२। दपञ्चाशत्पादावर्त्तपरि-माणक्षेत्रखण्ड यस्याघाटनानि पुर्व्वत विण्हलसत्कवापी दक्षिणत वत्तकसत्कक्षेत्र अपरत ।४३। कुटुम्बिविण्हलसत्कक्षेत्र उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणपटिमवसत्कक्षेत्र तथासिंहपुरविनिर्गतसिहपुरचातुर्व्विद्यसामान्य-किक्कटा ।४४। पुत्रग्रामनिवासीभारद्वाजसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगुहाढ्यपुत्रब्राह्मणमङ्कस्वामिने सुराष्ट्रेषु कालापकप ।४५। थकान्तर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामे अपरसीम्नि षोडशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी यस्या आघाटनानि पूर्व्वतश्चत्रसत्कवापी दक्षिणतोप ।४६। रतश्च कुटुम्बिचन्द्रसत्कक्षेत्र उत्तरत महत्तरदासक-सत्कक्षेत्र तथा किक्कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिवाटकशर्करापद्रग्रामे अ ।४७। परसीम्नि अष्टाविंशतिपादावर्त्तपरि-माण क्षेत्रखण्ड यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वत कुटुम्बिबव्यरथविरकसत्कक्षेत्र दक्षिणत आश्विनिक ।४८। पुत्र-ग्रामीणकुटुम्बिवगहसत्कक्षेत्र अपरत आश्विनिपुत्रकपथ (प) प्पटीयकसत्कक्षेत्र उत्तरतो ब्रह्मदायिकभागी-यकसत्कक्षेत्र तथा ।४९। चतुर्द्दशपादावर्त्तपरिमाण क्षेत्रखण्ड यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वत बव्यरथविरकक्षेत्रमेव दक्षिणत कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्र अपरत षप्पटीय ।५०। कक्षेत्रमेव उत्तरत ब्रह्मदेयिकश्वाग्लिकक्षेत्र तथा षन्त्र पत्तका येषामाघाटनानि पूर्व्वत विञ्छीयकक्षेत्र दक्षिणत कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रमेव ।५१। अपरत कु [टुम्बी] श्वरक्षेत्रमेव उत्तरत पटानकग्रामसीमा एवमेतद्विशत्युत्तरपादावर्त्तशतप्रमाण वापीक्षेत्र सोद्रङ्ग स- ।५२। परिकरं .... सधान्याहिरण्यदेय सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेव ।५३। ब्रह्मदायवर्ज्य न्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-भोग्यं उदकातिसर्गेण धर्म्मदायो निसृष्टः ।५४। यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जत कृषत कर्ष-यत प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा ।५५। अनित्यान्यैश्व-र्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यंच भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुगन्तव्य परिपालयितव्यश्चत्युक्तं च बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज ।५६। भि सगरादिभि । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु ।५७। पुनरा-ददीत षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति । दूत-कोत्र राजपुत्रध्रुवसेनः लिखितमिदं ।५८। संधिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवश [ ] भटपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्द-भटेन सं० ३२६. आषाढ शुद्ध स्वहस्तो मम.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, pp 14ff]

TRANSLATION

WELFARE! From Valabhī. From Bhatārka the great Māheśvara[1] who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of friends of matchless might, who, with main force, had subjugated their enemies—who won the attachment [of kings] by his gifts, respectful treatment and equable

1 Devotee of Maheśvara or Siva. The Valabhī kings probably belonged to the Māheśvara Sect.

conduct, the results of that greatness—who, by the power of the kings attached to him, obtained sovereignty, and whose royal race is unbroken,- sprang Śrī[1] Guhasena the great Māheśvara,—who had all his sins washed away by bowing at the lotus-like feet of his mother and father—who, sword in hand, from his childhood manifested great prowess, by breaking the ranks of the maddened elephants of his enemy,—the rays of the nails of whose feet were mixed with the light of the crown jewels of the enemies laid prostrate [at his feet] by his valour,—who delighted the hearts of his subjects by excellently protecting them, thoroughly, according to the method prescribed in the Smrtis,[2] and thus rendered his title of Rāja literally true,—who in beauty, lustre, firmness, depth, genius and wealth, excelled Kāma,[3] the moon, the King of mountains,[4] the ocean, the preceptor of the Gods,[5] and the Lord of wealth,[6]—who sacrificed his own interests as if they were as worthless as straw, by his readiness to extend protection from danger to those who sought an asylum with him,—and, who delighted the hearts of learned men, friends and favourites, by giving them more wealth than was asked, and who was the very incarnate [moving on legs] delight of the whole extent of the world His son was Śrī Dharasena the great Māheśvara—whose stains of sins were wholly washed away by the water of the Gangā[7] in the shape of the rays from the nails of his father's feet,—whose wealth was fed on by hundreds of thousands of favourites,—who was resorted to as it were, out of love for his beauty, by many acquired virtues,—who astonished all archers by his innate power and acquired skill,—who continued the charitable grants made by former kings,—who averted the evils destructive to his subjects,—who showed himself to be the common abode of Śrī[8] and Sarasvatī,[9]—whose exploits placed him in the enjoyment of the wealth

1 This is an honorific, prefixed to the names of kings.

2 Law-books

3 The God of Love.

4 Himālaya.

5 Bṛhaspati

6 Kubera.

7 The water of the Gangā is white, according to Hindu poets, and rays of light are also white, hence the resemblance.

8 The Goddess of wealth.

9 Goddess of learning These two are supposed always to live apart.

and power of his united enemies, and who, by exploits, obtained unsullied royal dignity His son was Śilāditya, the great Māheśvara, who meditated on his father's feet,—who filled the circle of all the quarters by extraordinary virtues which were united in him, and which delighted the whole world,—the burden of whose great desires was borne successfully by his shoulders, which were brighter than those of others, in consequence of his conspicuousness amongst the allies, who had obtained distinction by winning a hundred battles,—whom it was always very easy to please by writing sage epigrams, though his own mind was purified by the study of all sciences in all their branches,—who, though transcending all people in the unfathomable depth [of his heart], was of a very benevolent disposition, as shown by his good deeds,—who obtained great fame by clearing the obstructed path trodden on by kings of the Krta[1] age,—whose enjoyment of the sweets of affluence was refined by his adherence to justice, and thus procured for him his other name of Dharmāditya[2] His younger brother was Śri Kharagraha, the great Māheśvara, who meditated on his (brother's) feet, who bore the sovereign power though it was an object of desire to the loving elder one, who was like the elder one of Upendra,[3] as a bullock (bearer of the yoke) bears on his shoulders something that is great, simply on account of the pleasure he took in executing his (brother's) commands, and while doing so he did not allow his virtue to be diminished, either by love of pleasure or vexation—whose mind—though his foot-stool was enveloped in the lustre of the crown jewels of the hundred kings subjugated by his prowess—was not affected by arrogance, or a fondness to treat others with indignity,—to counteract whom (whose power), setting aside submission, there was no way even for enemies reputed for manliness and pride,—who by a number of pure virtues which perfumed the whole world,

1 The kings of the Krta or the first age of Hindu Mythology were very virtuous, and their ways and manners were forgotten Śilāditya trod in their foot-steps

2 Literally—' the Sun of justice or virtue '

3 Upendra is a name of Viṣṇu, and the allusion here is probably to Kṛṣṇa, in whose favour Balarāma, his elder brother, or guru,—the word in the original,—resigned the kingdom,

resisted with main force the progress of the sport of Kalı,[1]—whose heart was noble and untouched by all the faults which little men are prone to,—and who obtained the first place amongst men of valour by the royal Laksmi[2] of a host of inimical kings voluntarily embracing him, on account of his well-known valour and skill in the management of weapons His son who meditated on his feet was Sri Dharasena, the great Māhesvara,— who gave exceedingly great delight to the hearts of learned men by the acquisition of all the sciences,—who in his stock of virtue and liberality in giving away, found a device, by which was effected the defeat of the desires of his enemies, who, though his thoughts were deep (in his breast), in consequence of his having been thoroughly acquainted with various sciences, arts, and with the ways of the world, was of a very benevolent disposition,-whose unaffected humility and chastened manners, were his ornaments,— who destroyed the pride of all enemies by his powerful and massive arm, which carried the flag of victory in a hundred battles,—and whose commands were obeyed by the whole circle of kings, whose skill in the management of weapons he had defeated by the might of his bow His younger brother who meditated on his feet was the great Māhesvara Dhruvasena, who surpassed all previous kings by his good deeds,—who accomplished things that were very difficult to accomplish,— who was valour itself in a human form, —who was respected as if he were Manu himself by his subjects, with hearts full of love for his great virtues,—who was the very lord of [illegible] without the [illegible] [illegible]-seized,[4] shining and the cause of joy to others,—who was the very shining sun the dispeller of darkness by filling all quarters with the bright lustre [of his great prowess] —who, inspiring confidence[5] in his subjects,

1 The principle of evil Kali is supposed to have full swing in the present age, which is called Kali yuga

2 The triumph of a lover consists in his mistress giving him a voluntary embrace The royal power and state of [illegible] his enemies are personified as Laksmi, who is attracted by the valour

3 i e, The moon

4 There is a play here on the word Kalā, which means 'a digit of the moon' and 'an art' The moon had all her digits i e was full and the king was versed in all the arts

5 There is a play here on the words prakṛti, pratyaya, anubandha, āgama and vidadhana, which are technical terms used by Pāṇini The grammatical meaning is enclosed within brakets in the text.

as to the acquisition of wealth, the furtherance of a great many purposes, and the increase of prosperity [Gramatically construed—prescribing the addition to bases of a termination with a certain sense, having letters indicatory of a great many changes, and with the augment added on to it]; proficient in determining matters about peace,[1] war, and alliance [Gram well-versed in Samdhi or phonetic rules, dissolution of compounds and Compounds]; issuing[2] commands proper for the occasion [Gram prescribing a substitute for the original] and doing[3] honour to the good by raising them from a subordinate position [Gram. giving correct forms to words by prescribing Guna and Vrddhi changes], was thoroughly versed in the art of Government, and of the Śālāturīya.[4] Though of great valour, he possessed a heart softened by compassion; though learned, he was not boastful; though he was a lover, his passions were subdued, though his kindness was unchanging, he repelled those who were guilty He rendered his well-known second name of Bālāditya (Morning Sun) literally true, by the warm[5] love which he engendred in men at the time of his accession,[6] and which overspread the earth His son is Srī Dharasena who bears on his forhead a crescent of the moon, in the shape of the mark of scars produced by rubbing his head on the earth, when prostrating himself at his father's lotus-like feet; whose great learning is as pure as the pearl ornament put on his graceful ear in his childhood, the lotus-like palm of whose hand is always washed by the water [poured in the making] of gifts, whose joy is heightened by the levy of taxes[7] as light as the soft grasp of the hand of a maiden; who, like the revealed science of archery,[8] has dealt by means of his bow with all the aims in

1 Here the words Samāsa, Vigraha and Samdhi are used in a double sense.

2 Sthāna and Ādeśa are the words here

3 Here the words with a double meaning are Samskāra, Sādhu, Guna, Vrddhi, and Vidhāna.

4 Pānini was a native of Śalātura, in the country to the west of the Indus, and he is known by the name of Śālāturīya or native of Salātura.

5 There is a play on the word Anurāga here, which means 'redness' as well as 'love.' The light of the morning sun is reddish

6 Udaya is the word here which means 'rise' as applied to the Sun or the king.

7 A pun on the word Kara which means a 'tax' and the 'hand'.

8 The Dhanurveda so translated here teaches how to take all sorts of aims, and the king had actually taken all aims, hence the comparison

the world (takes aims),—whose commands are treated by the circle of subject kings as the jewels worn on the head ;[1] who meditates on his grandfather's feet and who is the great Māhesvara, the great lord, the king of kings, the great ruler, the universal sovereign He, enjoying good health, commands all whom it may concern :—" Be it known to you, that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father, I have given in charity, by pouring water, a field of the area of 56 paces[2] at the southern extremity of Sarkarāpadraka, a district of Kikkatāputra, a village in Kālāpakapatha in Surāstra, to the Brāhmana Arjuna, son of the Brāhmana Guhādhya, residing in Kikkatāputra, formerly of Simhapura, honoured among the Brāhmanas of Simhapura, knowing the four Vedas, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, and student of the Chandoga Veda The boundaries of the field are, to the east—the well Vinhalsatkka,—to the south, the field Vattakasatkka,—to the west, the field Kutumbi-Vinhala-Satkka,—to the north, the field of Brāhmana-sasti-bhava Satkka —And also to the Brāhmana Manka-Svāmin, son of the Brāhmana Guhādhya, residing in the village of Kikkatāputra, formerly of Simhapura, honoured among the Brāhmanas of Simhapura, knowing the four Vedas, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, student of Chandoga Veda a well of the area of sixteen paces, at the western exrtemity of Kikkatāputra village in Kālāpakapatha in Surāstra The boundaries are —To the east, the well Catra-satkka,— to the south and west—the field Kutumbi Candra-satkka–and to the north the field Mahattatradāsaka-satika And also at the western extremity of the village of Sarkarāpadraka a district of Kikkatāputra, a field of the area of 28 paces, the boundaries of which are, [3] and also a field measuring fourteen paces, the boundaries of which are and also six pattakas[4] whose boundaries are —to the east to the south to the west and to the north, the boundary of the village of Patānaka. In this manner, the field of Vāpī, of the extent of 182

1 i e uncompromisingly obeyed

2 The word in the original is pādāvarta, which appears to have been a square measure

3 The dots indicate portions containing a mention of the boundaries &c left untranslated [N B U]

4 Probably a certain square measure

paces, is granted, along with its appurtenances, and whatever is on it, together with the revenue in kind, or gold, and with whatever may be grown on them, except what may have been granted to Gods or Brahmans before The whole is not to be meddled with by any officer of the king, and is to be enjoyed from son to grandson, and to last as long as the sun, the moon, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains endure. On this account no one shall obstruct any one, who, in virtue of this Brahman-gift, enjoys the land, ploughs it, or allows it to be ploughed, or assigns it over to another person All future kings, whether of our race or others, should, bearing in mind that power is transitory, and humanity frail, and knowing the good fruits arising from the grant of land, recognise this our grant, and continue it It is said —This earth has been enjoyed by many kings, such as Sagara and others, each one obtains the fruit when he is in possession The things given in charity by kings who were afraid of poverty, are like flowers which have been used What good man will resume them ? The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years, and he who takes it away, or allows it to be taken away, lives in Hell for as many years —The Prince Dhruvasena is minister (executive officer) here Engraved by Divirapati-Skandabhata, the son of Divirapati Vasa [?] bhata, minister for peace and war 326 in the bright half of Āsādha My own hand [sign manual]

REMARKS

THREE copper-plates of the Valabhī Dynasty have been hitherto deciphered and translated Two of these were discovered by Mr Wathen, and the third by Dr Burns of Kaira Mr Wathen's translation of one of the two and his remarks on the other are given in the Fourth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal One leaf of the latter was afterwards deciphered and translated by the Rev P Anderson The translation, a Devanāgarī transcript, and a lithographed copy are given in the Third Volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal A transcript and translation of Dr Burn's copper-plate are to be found in the Seventh Volume of the Bengal Society's Journal We shall distin-

guish these by the numbers 1, 2 and 3 No. 1 records a grant of land by Dharasena II, the great-grandson of the founder of the dynasty and the seventh in Mr Anderson's list; and Nos 2 and 3 are said to be from Dhruvasena, the thirteenth in the list

The copper-plates now translated were put into my hands by the Editor.[1] The grantor, in this case, is Dharasena IV, the twelfth in Mr Anderson's list and consequently the immediate predecessor of the king who is considered as the grantor in Nos 2 and 3,

Dr Bhau Daji gives, in one place, the dates of five copper-plate grants of this dynasty,[2] whilst in another he mentions seven dates professedly derived from copper-plates But he does not say when or by whom so many grants of the Valabhī kings were discoverd, nor who deciphered and translated them, or where the plates or their transcripts and translations are to be found Mr Thomas, as appears from his edition of Prinsep's Essays, knows only of the three I have mentioned

The descriptions of the several kings in all these plates are given in the same words, so that, so far as they go, they may be considered to be copies of each other There are a few varietates lectionis, but some of these at least must be ascribed to the ignorance or carelessness of the engraver The published transcript of No. 1 is generally correct, but those of the other two are full of mistakes, and it is difficult or impossible in a great many places to make out any sense Any one well acquainted with Sanskrit may ascertain the truth of this for himself by comparing the several transcripts with that of the present one Many instances of this might be given, but I shall confine myself here to one The plays on certain grammatical terms, and Sālāturīya, the name of Pānini, were not at all made out by previous decipherers; Guna-vrddhi was read by Mr Anderson and the Calcutta scholar as Guna-bhridbhih, and Śalāturīya as Sālāgarīyas. But these mistakes are not in the original copper-plates Nos. 1 and 2 are preserved in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic

1 The Editor of the Indian Antiquary added the foot-note "They were kindly lent me by Major J W. Watson" [N B U]

2 JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p 230

Society and I have collated these (in original) with the present one I did not find there the mistakes I speak of, and which are to be ascribed to the transcribers. The translations based upon such transcripts must, of course, be equally wrong.

The genealogy of the Valabhī kings as gathered from the present grant is as follows .—

From Bhaṭārka sprang
|
Guhasena.
|
Dharasena II.
├── Śīlāditya I
└── Kharagraha I
    ├── Dharasena III
    └── Dhurvasena.
        |
        Dharasena IV.

This genealogy agrees in every respect, so far as it goes, with that in Nos 2 and 3 The exact relationship between Bhaṭārka and Guhasena is not given; but in No 1 he is represented as his great-grandson No 1 gives also the names of the several sons of Bhaṭārka who succeeded each other

The name of the grandfather of Dharasena IV, and brother of Śīlāditya I, is given as Īśvaragraha by the translators of Nos. 2 and 3 In the present plate it is clearly Kharagraha and I find it so even in No 2 Mr Wathen's reading of it was Caragiaha which is nearer to the true name than Īśvaragraha.

From a passage in the description of Kharagraha, the younger brother of Śīlāditya, it appears that during the life-time of the latter, the former held the reins of government For he is there spoken of as having administered the affairs of the kingdom in obedience to the orders of his guru which word must, from the analogy of the guru of Upendra or Kṛṣṇa mentioned there, as well as for other reasons, be taken to mean 'elder brother' Mr. Anderson has entirely misunderstood this passage. The Calcutta translator gives the substance of it though the bearing of the analogy does not seem to have been clearly comprehended There appears to have been a sort of usurpation here, for Śīlāditya's

children were passed over and the kingdom was governed by Kharagraha, and after him, by his lineal descendants The line of Śilāditya was restored after the death of Dharasena IV, as is evident from Nos 2 and 3.

According to the translators of these, the immediate successor of this king made the grants Nos 2 and 3, and his name was Dhruvasena There is here a double mistake The grantor's name was evidently Silāditya, as may be ascertained by comparing the passage in No 2 with the corresponding one in the transcript of No 3, and he was not the immediate successor of Dharasena IV He was great-grandson to Śilāditya I, as shown in the following genealogy gathered from the original of No 2, *now in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society* .—

Silāditya I.
|
Derābhata.
|
Śilāditya — Kharagraha II. — Dhruvasena III.
|
Śilāditya II

This last, marked Silāditya II, is the grantor in Nos 2 and 3

This genealogy differs from that given by all the writers on the Valabhī dynasty except Dr Bhau Daji[1] who does not give his authorities; but if they are not the same as mine, the order of names given above receives confirmation from what may, for the present, be called an independent source

In another list given by the same writer,[2] I find another Śilāditya, placed below Silāditya II But here again I must complain of his silence as to his authorities.

It is not likely, though there is nothing impossible in it, that Derābhata, the son of Silāditya, should have lived to succeed Dharasena IV, the grandson of his uncle It appears to me that those only whose names in the plates are in the nominative case and have the epithet Paramamāhesvara prefixed to them, were reigning kings The names of Derābhata, and Śilāditya, the father

1 JBBRAS, Vol VII, p. 116.

2 Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 245.

of Śiladitya II are in the genitive case in No 2 and they are not styled Paramamāheśvaras They do not seem, therefore, to have sat on the throne

In a few places, in the latter part of the present copper-plate, the letters are not distinct ; so that I am not sure of the readings I have given of the names of the fields mentioned as boundaries of the pieces of land conveyed. But these names cannot be of any importance.

ON TWO COPPER-PLATES FROM VALABHĪ

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp 45ff]

The following are translations of the second halves of two copper-plate grants sent to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary from Bhavnagar The second and smaller one, 12 inches by 8¼, is greatly damaged ; and the letters are indistinct in many places The other is 12¾ inches by 10¼, and is in a better state of preservation—the right hand edge only being broken off

The grantor in No I is Dharasena IV, the same as in the one translated at pp 211 ff, ante The date is also the same, viz 326, the month being Māgha instead of Āsādha The first nine lines and a half have not been translated, as the description of the kings in them is in almost every respect the same as in the corresponding portion of the former and other Valabhī grants

The grantor in No II is Śilāditya I, the son and successor of Dharasena II, the king in Mr Wathen's first plate The figured date is —



The first figure having only one side stroke, represents 200 The value of the second we know from Dr Burn's Cālukya and Gūrjara plates to be 80, and the last stands for 6; so that the whole is 286 But the date usually assigned to the father of Śilāditya from Mr Wathen's plate is 332 I have shown[1] that this date has been misread and misinterpreted. The first figure in it stands for 200, and the value I have assigned to the second from evidence available is 70 The date therefore is 272

These two plates, broken and mutilated as they are, are very interesting Those hitherto discovered, record grants of land to Brahmans ; but both these record grants of land to Buddhist monasteries or Vihāras In the larger plate, the village of Yodhāvaka is assigned to a Vihāra constructed by the minister

1 In a paper in the JBBRAS, Volume X, p 66ff. This paper has been published in this Volume, ante, pp 214ff.

Skandabhata, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist We see from these, that the Valabhī kings patronized the Buddhists as well as the Brahmans · Buddhism flourished at the time side by side with Brahmanism, and the worship of images formed part of the religion The geneology of the Valabhī dynasty has been given at pp. 236 f, ante. The dates gathered from the copper-plate grants, I know of, are given below I believe, for reasons in the paper just referred to, that the era used in these grants is that of the Śaka king.

Dharasena II	272 Saka or 35[illegible] A. D
Śilāditya I	286 Saka or 364 A. D
Dharasena IV (2 grants)	326 Śaka or 404 A D
Silāditya II (2 grants)	356 Śaka or 434 A D

TRANSLATION OF PLATE I

Śrī Dharasena, the great Māhesvara, the great lord, the king of kings, the great ruler, the universal sovereign, who meditates on his grand-father's feet, enjoying good health, commands all whom it may concern —Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father I have (assigned) to the assembly of the revered mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna (school) coming from the four quarters to the monastery constructed by Divira-pati Skandabhata in the village of Yodhāvaka in Hestava-prāhāra in Surāstra, the four divisions of the same village of Yodhāvaka —viz , three for the purpose of (providing) clothing, food,[1] [means of] sleeping and sitting and medicine ; for the purpose of [providing] the means of worshiping and washing the glorious Buddhas, viz , fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, and oil for lamps, and for executing repairs to the monasstery (lit for putting aright the broken parts), and the fourth part of the same village for the further digging, clearing or repairing of the tank dug at the same place by Divirapati Skandabhata, and thus for providing water just at the door, (lit. at the root of the feet) In this manner, by pouring water, the village

1 Pinda-pāta is explained as पिण्डपातः भिक्षाभ्रमणेन भोजनम् Pinda is a ball, i. e. of rice in this case, and pāta is dropping, hence it means the dropping in of a ball of rice in the Bhiksu's bowl.

is assigned as a charity grant to the monastery, and the tank along with its appurtenances, and whatever is on it, with the creatures living therein, the revenue in grain and gold, the defects[1] in its condition, and whatever may grow in it spontaneously The grant is exclusive of whatever may have been given to gods or Brahmans before ; is not to be interfered with by the officers of the king , and is to last on the principle of a hole[2] in the earth, as long as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, rivers, and mountains endure Therefore no one shall obstruct the revered mendicant priests in the act of ploughing the land, causing it to be ploughed or assigning it over (to some person), in virtue of this its condition as an assignment of Gods All future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that power is transitory and humanity frail, and knowing the good fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, should recognize this our grant and continue it It is said, &c (the rest as in the translation of the plate [in the preceeding article]) The prince Dhruvasena is executive officer here

Engraved by Divirapati Skandabhata, the son of Divirapati Vatra (?) Bhatti, minister for peace and war S 326, the fifth day of the dark half of Māgha

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1 To the list of expressions, the senses of which are not accurately known, given by Prof Dowson, I might add सदशापराधम् which occurs in several plates I have however translated it as in the text

2 भूमिच्छिद्रन्याय—This expression Bhūmicchidranyāya, which occurs in a great many copper-plates, and which no one has yet attempted to explain, may have some reference to the circumstance that holes in the earth are not permanent but are filled up in the course of time That this fact was often the subject of thought and remark is shown by the story (in the Taitt Sam II 5, and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa VI 9, and other works) that Indra transferred the sin he incurred by killing Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvastr among other objects and persons– to the earth, and in consideration of her having taken it, gave her a boon, that all holes made in her, would be filled up in time The sense of the sentence then is—that a grant is to last as long as the sun, the moon, &c , shall endure on the principle of holes in the earth (Nyāya means a principle , compare the Takra-Kauṇḍinya and other Nyāyas), that is, as holes in the earth are filled up in time and the earth is whole again and so unchanged, so a grant should survive all revolutions &c , and last unchanged for ever.

My own hand

PLATE II

Transcript of the second half of another grant to a Buddhist Monastery, found in the ruins of Valabhī.

मुखसंपदुपसंत्रानिरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वर: श्रीशिला . (१)

. युक्तकाधिनियुक्तक महात्तरा दीनन्या .. . .. (२)

समाज्ञापयत्यस्तुवस्संविदित यथा मया मातापितृ(पुण्या)प्यायनाय (३)

कारितविहारनिवासिचतुर्दिगभ्यागतार्यभिक्षुसंघस्य चीवरपिण्डपातशयनासन,. (४)

परिष्कारार्थं बुद्धानाञ्च भगवतां गन्धधूपपुष्पमाल्यदीपतैलाद्युपयोगार्थं विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसं- (५)

स्कारय पालतीरोलह्म [?] रक्षरपुत्र [?] ग्रामे नद्युत्तरतटे (६)

क्षेत्र तथोद्रपद्रकग्रामे . . .. क्षेत्रं सोद्रङ्गं (७)

सोपरिकर &c [The rest as usual, a word or two only differing].

दूतक [ ] पुत्रभट्टादित्ययशा लिखितं संधिविग्र . . . (१५)

. . . . सं २८६ वैशाख व ६॥ .. . . (१६)

स्वहस्तो मम

TRANSLATION OF PLATE II

Śrīsilā the great Māhesvara, whose other name, procured for him by the enjoyment was Dharmāditya, commands persons in office or holding commissions .. great (and small) and others " Be it known to you, that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father, I (have assigned) a field named on the northern side of the river, in the village of Raksara-putra (?) in Pālatirolahma (?) and also a field . in the village of Udrapadraka, to the assembly of the revered mendicant priests coming from the four quarters, and residing in the monastery constructed by . for (providing) clothing, food, and (the means of) sleeping and sitting . ...

and for the purpose of (providing) fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, oil for lamps for the glorious Buddhas, and for the repairing of the monastery (lit putting aright the broken parts). These fields are granted by pouring water, along with their appurtenances, &c &c " (the rest as usual)

The son Bhattāditya-yasāh is executive officer here Written .. .. 286 on the 6th day of Vaisākha Vadya.

My own hand.

A MORBI COPPER-PLATE WITH TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume II, 1873, pp. 257f]

(This article appeared with the following prefatory Note by the Editor of the Indian Antiquary · " Through the kindness of Major J. W. Watson a loan of this plate was obtained from the Morbi Darbar more than a year ago and a facsimile made, which, however, has only recently been printed. There were two plates a few years ago, but the first has gone amissing: it is supposed that it was lent and never returned. This is greatly to be regretted, as it doubtless gave the genealogy of the royal donor. The date is given in words which interpret the figures for Samvat 585 in the penultimate line. In this the figure 5 is recognisable enough; the vertical stroke with a line over it for 8, though found elsewhere, is less usual —Ed ") N. B. U.

TRANSCRIPT

ह्मणअग्रहारवास्तव्य O शाण्डिल्य–सगोत्रमैत्रायणीय O सब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणन . ...
जाज्जाकाभ्यां सीहादित्यसुताभ्या पय पूर्वमाशशाङ्कानपनार्णवस्थिंन सतानोपभोग्यतया
मार्तण्डमण्डलाश्रायिणि स्वर्भानौ वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि सत्रह्मक्र [क्रि] यार्थं पित्रोरात्मनश्च
पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये प्रतिपादितमेतयाश्चिदमुपभुजतोर्न केनापि देशाधिपतिना व्यासेध परि-
पन्था न वा करणीयो भाविभिश्च भूमिपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलम-
नित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि प्रचलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रदलस्थितजल[ल]वलोलमाकल-
य्य दु परिहरदुःखं क्षणिकं च जीवितमालोच्य[न्या]तिप्रचुरकदर्थनासंचितमर्थजात-
मनिलसंगितदीपशिखाचंचलमालोच्य वाच्यतान्युतिकामैरमरलमण्डलशरदिदुद्युतिधवल-
यशोवितानाच्छादं नभोभागमिवात्मानमिच्छाद्भिगनिस्वच्छमनोभिरभ्यर्थनानुबन्ध्यमनैर-
यमस्मद्धर्म्मदायोनुमंतव्य । व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितपौर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपपरिकाल्पितपंचमहा-
पातकसमयश्रावण्यं च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याचनानुबन्ध्यमनैरिदमनुस्मर्त्तव्यं स्मृति-
[ ]
कारोपदिष्टं वच ॥ षष्टि वरि [र्ष] सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेताचानु-
मंता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् । स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो हरेतु [त] वसुंधरा । गवा शत-
सहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं ॥ विध्याटवीष्वतोया [सु] शुष्ककोटरवासिन· ।
महाहयो हि जायंते ब्रह्मदायापहारिण: ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थ-
यशास्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवांतप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददीत ॥ इति कमल-
दलाम्बुबिंदुलोलां श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवित च ॥ सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा न हि
पुरुषै: परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: ॥ पंचाशीत्या युतेतीते समाना शतपंचके । गौप्ते ददावदो
[ ]
नृप: सोपरागेर्कमण्डले ॥ लसद्वर्ण्णालीकं समुचितपदन्यासरुचिर सदाम्नायेनाग्रं नृगनघु

[हु?] घकल्पस्य नृपतेः । मुग्वम्येनाभार्न द्विजमिश्र शिवस्वस्तिवचसा लिग्वज्जज्ञायोद [:]
शुचित [ग] मना [:] शासनमिति संवत् ५८५ फाल्गुनसुदि ५ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीजाइंकस्य
शंकग्सुतदेद्दकेसु [नो] त्किग्ति ॥ ६ ॥.

TRANSLATION

[It] is given by pouring water to the Brahmans—and Jājjāka, the sons of Sīhāditya, residing in the --hmana Agrahāra, of the Sāndilya gotra and student of the Maitrāyaniya [Śākhā], to be enjoyed by their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, and the oceans endure, on the occassion of Rāhu's touching the disk of the sun, for the performance of the Brahman ceremonies-Bali, Caru and Vaisvadeva, with a view to the increase of the holy merit and fame of himself and parents No country officer shall hinder or obstruct these two in the enjoyment of this And future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind the common fruit arising from grants of land, the transitoriness of all power, and the fact that humanity is as fleeting as a drop of water standing on the leaf of a lolus blown over by a violent breeze; seeing that life is full of ineradicable misery, and momentary; observing that the store of wealth accumulated with excessive toil is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp open to (in contact with) wind; desirous of being free from censure, wishing themselves to be, like the regions of the sky, shrouded in a veil of glory as pure as the light of the autumnal moon with her spotless disk; and endowed with the purest mind—should, at our solicitations, confirm this grant of ours And having reflected on the declaration of the covenant about the five cardinal sins led down by pious Kings of old, and mentioned by the Munis Vyāsa and others, they should, at our repeated solicitations, remember this saying of the authors of the Smṛtis —The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who resumes it or approves of its being so resumed, dwells in hell for as many years He who takes away the land granted by himself or others incurs the sin of killing a hundred thousand cows The resumers of Brahman gifts are born as large serpents dwelling in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya. What good man will resume the gifts made by former kings for the sake of religious merit, prosperity, and fame, which are like flowers once worn or matter vomitted? Thus reflecting that prosperity and hu-

man life are as fleeting as drop of water on a lotus-leaf, and calling to mind all that is said here, one should not blot out the fame of others Five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this when the disk of the sun was eclipsed. Jajñāgya, of a pure mind has written this charter of the king who rivals Nrga and Nahusa – a charter containing graceful lines of letters, charming on account of the apt words, distinguished by its various precepts, and shining by its good and auspicious utterances, like a Brahman whose mouth abounds with such Samvat 585, 5th of the bright half of Phālguna Sign-manual of Jāinka. Engraved by Deddaka, the son of Śamkara.

TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE FIFTH CENTURY A. D., FOUND IN GUJARAT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume X, 1871–74, pp. 19ff.]

The paper was read on the 13th of April 1871, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society —N B U.

The Tāmra-patra, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure of submitting to the Society to-day, consists of two rectangular plates, each 11¼ inches long and 6¾ wide, originally joined together by two thick rings passing through two holes in one of the longer sides of each One of the rings is lost, but the other is in a good state of preservation, and has a conical ball of copper attached to it, on which the seal is impressed The lines of engraved letters are parallel to the longer sides The copper-plate was found in a village in the Surat Collectorate by Mr. Manekji Aderji, G G M C, and sent to me to be deciphered and translated

The characters are a variety of the Devanāgarī, resembling that given in the fourth line of Prinsep's Table, which was used in Gujarat in the early centuries of the Christian era There is, however, some difference in the formation of several letters. The ज differs from Prinsep's in having the upper-most horizontal stroke turned up and twisted, and the व looks like the Roman B with the perpendicular stroke placed horizontally There are two vareities of ल, one resembling that given by Prinsep, and occurring also in the Girnar Inscriptions, which consists of two perpendicular strokes on a horizontal one, that to the left being twisted at the upper end ; and the other looks like the Greek p. The न and the mātrā look exactly like those in the modern Devanāgarī. The writing is incorrect in many places, which circumstance increased the difficulty of deciphering.

The language of the copper-plate is Sanskrit. It purports to be a grant of a village named Racchcharam in the district of Ankule-

śvara in Gujurat, to one Nārāyana, the son of Govinda, a Ṛgvedi Brahman of Kāśyapa Gotra, residing in Abhicchatra The king who granted it belonged to the Gurjjara dynasty, and was named Dadda * His father's name was Jayabhata, and his grand father's Dada. From the sign-manual it appears that Dadda had another name, which was Prasānta-rāga, and Jayabhata was also called Vīta-rāga But these sound like euphonious epithets or titles, and could hardly have been proper names, for the first means "one whose passions are cooled," and the other "one whose pass ons have disappeared or ceased to exist," expressions which persons who are religious, or affect to be so, delight in The writer or engraver was a minister of the name of Reva, the son of Mādhava From the opening benediction, the seat of the dynasty appears to have been Broach The date is Jyestha, amāvāsyā or new-moon day, 417 of Saka Nrpa, i e, of the era now known as Śālivāhana's, corresponding to the 9th of June, 495 A D The seal bears the name of Dada, grand-father of the reigning sovereign

The grant is in the usual style of such documents, but bears what I should consider a family likeness to the Valabhī or other Gujarat copper-plates Several expressions may be quoted in support of this views The reading, for instance, of some of the verses from Mahābhārata, is the same in all these plates, while in the Southern grants it is different

In the Seventh Volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is published a transcript of a grant made by a king of the Gurjjara dynasty, along with some observations on it A fresh transcript of it has been given by Prof Dowson in the first Volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Eew Series In this a few of the mistakes of the first have been corrected. Prof. Dowson has collated with it another grant of the same king,

* The word is Śrīmaddadda If Śrī only were taken to be the honorific prefix, as it always is, the name would be Maddadda, if Srimad, it would be Dadda Prof Dowson's facsimiles favour the latter supposition, though Śrīmad, I must say, I have never found used as a prefix to the names of kings, and even in the present plate, the prefix is Śrī in the case of Jayabhata, the second king The same remark holds good in the case of the name Dadda.

similar to it in most respects, and given facsimiles of both The copper-plates were discovered at Kaira by Dr Burns These we will distinguish by the Nos 2 and 3, as the Professor has done The present grant is by the same king as these two, the reasons for the statement being decisive The king in Dr Burns' plates belongs to the Gurjjara dynasty, as in the present grant His name is Praśānta-rāga, as given in the sign manual, which, however, the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal read Praśānga-rāga; and his father's name is Jayabhata and also Vītarāga. The writer's name is, as in the present copper-plate, Reva, and six lines of the eulogy of one of the kings correspond, word for word, in all the three Ankuleśvara and Broach are also mentioned there, though the occasion is different But the grand-father's name is Dada in the present copper-plate, and Sāmanta-datta in both of Dr Burns', and the second name of the reigning sovereign given in the body of these latter is, according to Prof Dowson, Śrīdatta-kuśalī, while it is Dadda in the former Now, there can be no question that the Professor has misread the name of the king; for the word Kusalī means "enjoying health," and is used in mosts of the grants I have seen, where it is only thus to be interpreted The usage of the country, to this day, also requires that this word, or an expression equivalent to it, should be used by the writer of a letter with reference to himself, before speaking of the matter in hand Besides, in the present copper-plate and in No 2, the word preceding Kusalī has the nominative termination (visarga) attached to it, which shows that Kusalī is an independent word, and forms no part of the one that precedes. Again, the word Srī is a mere honorific prefix used before the names of kings, so that the real name is reduced to Datta Now, referring to the facsimiles, I find that the letters the Professor reads as two *t*'s are exactly similar to the first, which he takes to be a *d*, and are clearly two *d*'s. The name therefore, is Dadda. Again, in the facsimile of No 3, the king's name looks like Daddam But the letter which resembles *m*, and is so read by Professor Dowson is in reality the symbol[1] for the Jihvā-mūlīya, which according to Pāṇini, VI I. 3. 37, is an optional substitute for visarga before a hard guttural The name therefore, may be taken to be the same

1 I have since seen this symbol, before क in several Valabhī plates.

in all the three plates Now, as to Sāmanta-datta, I am inclined to doubt the faithfulness of the facsimiles in this case For, as the name stands there, it is without the almost indespensable prefix of Śrī which we find in the case of both the other names and in almost all other copper-plates This Śrī has perhaps been misread by the decipherer as Sā And the Datta being in this case also Dadda, the name is very likely the same, or nearly the same, as in the present plate Or perhaps the word Sāmanta, signifying as it does "a subordinate prince or chief," may have been used in Nos 2 and 3 as a title The dates also of Dr Burns' plates are perfectly consistent with the supposition of their common origin That of No 2 is 380, and of No 3, 385, i e, the first grant was made 37 and the second 32 years before the present one And 37 years are not too long a period for a single reign Prof Dowson and the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal consider the dates 380 and 385 to refer to the era of Vikramāditya, but the only reason is the use of the word Samvatsara This word, however, means simply a year, and does not indicate any reference to a particular era And this is confirmed by its use in the present grant, with the express on Saka-Nipa-kāla before it The common origin of the three grants, therefore, would necessitate the dates 380 and 385 being taken to refer to the Saka era For if they were not so taken, the interval between this and the other two grants would be about 171 and 166 years

But as some antiquarians think that Saka-Nipa-kāla is often confounded with the Samvat era "even by indigenous writers,"[1] it may be said that notwithstanding the use of that expression in the present copper-plate its date 417, as well as those of Dr Burns', may refer to the era of Vikramāditya This point can, however, be easily determined. In the present grant, mention has beed made of the occurrence of a solar eclipse on the day on which it was executed I wrote to my respected friend Prof Keru Lakshman, a few days ago, to ascertain if there was such an eclipse on the Amāvāsyā or conjunction day of Jyestha in the year 417 of Sālivāhana, and also whether there was a possibility of an eclipse on the same day of the same year of the Samvat era His answer is that, on a rough calculation, he finds

1 See Dr. Bhau Daji on Merutunga's Theravali, JBBRAS, Vol IX, page 156.

that on that day, which, supposing the era to be Śālivāhana's, corresponds to the 9th of June, 495 A D, the distance of the sun from the moon's ascending node was about 12° 14′ He therefore thinks that there was a solar eclipse on that day, but it must have been a partial one, and have be un in the afternoon, a short time before sunset But on that day of that year of the Samvat era, there was, he says, no possibility of an eclipse, since the sun's distance from the node was about 8 signs and 9° This, therefore, proves that the date of the present copper-plate, and hence those of Dr Burns' No 2 and No 3, refer to the Saka era, and that the use of the word Samvatsara does not by any means show the era to be Vikrama's And, by the way, it would also appear that it is more reasonable to regard the era used in other Gujarat copper-plates, such as those of the Valabhi dynasty, to be that of the Saka king, than to assume it as the Samvat, since the three plates of the Gurjara dynasty I have been considering, may well be taken to indicate the prevalent usage And this supposition thoroughly agrees with the Valabhi era discovered by Colonel Tod from a Somnath Inscription, which began in 319 A D One would naturally take this era to commence from the date of Bhatārka, the founder of the family, and not from that of any of his successors, as Mr Wathen has done without any good reason, though one of these may have brought it for the first time into use The date of the copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena, the sixth in descent from Bhatarka, published in the Seventh volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, is 365,[1] which if taken to refer to the Samvat would correspond to 309 A. D, i e, ten years before the foundation of the dynasty But if, however, the era were assumed to be that of Salivahana, the date would correspond to 443 A D, that is, the interval between the first king of the family and the person sixth in descent from him would be 124 years, which, I think, is a reasonable period The editors of the

1 I have shown in a paper since read at a meeting of the Society that this date must be read as 356 and that the most probable starting point for the Valabhi era is the coronation of Dronasimha, the second son of Bhatārka, and in another, published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol I, that the grantor in the plate referred to in the text, is Śilāditya II, the eighth in descent from Bhatārka. [Both these papers have been printed, ante. N B U]

Journal, simply from the occurrence of the word Samvatsara, take the era used to be Vikrama's, and give up Colonel Tod's discovery of the Valabhi era, from its inconsistency with their supposition. But we see that the two dates are perfectly reconcileable if we take the era of the Śaka king instead of the Samvat.

Mr Thomas has reprinted, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, the two papers in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal which I have noticed with the remark "that the dates of all these documents require accurate re-examination and revision, and that the geographical questions involved demand even in a greater degree an exact and formal definition"

The present copper-plate grant throws, I think, much light on those questions We have seen that the era used in this and the other grants of the Gurjjara dynasty is that of the Saka king; that the word Samvatsara does not by any means denote the Samvat era, and that if the usage indicated by these grants were understood to be applicable to Valabhi plates, their dates would be consistent with the discovery of Colonel Tod

The seat of the Gurjjara dynasty was Broach But this appears to have been the name of the city, as well as of the country around it In the Narmadā-Māhātmya, Bhrgu-Kaccha is mentioned as a holy place on the northern bank of the river, about two miles long from east to west,[1] and the descriptions of many other similar places farther down the river wind up with the remark, "Thus ends the description of such and such a place in Bhrgu-Kaccha" Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, also speaks of a kingdom of Broach. Ankuleśvara, mentioned in the plate, has preserved its name unaltered

About four miles to the north-east of Elas, in the vicinity of which the copper-plate was found, is the village of Walner, which seems to correspond to the Vāraneia of the grant It is eight miles to the South-west of Ankulesvara The river Varandā appears to be the modern Wand Kharee, and about a mile and a half from Walner is the village of Suriham, answering to the Sarathuam [or Arathuam] of our plate Sunthavadaka, which is

1 रेवाया उत्तरे तीरे गभीरं चाभिचारिणि । प्रागुदक्प्रवणे देशे तीर्थकोटिविभूषितम् ॥ कोशप्रमाणं तत्क्षेत्रंप्रासादशत संकुलं चकार मुदितो भृगु. ॥

mentioned as the eastern boundary of Rācchavam, I have not been able to discover on the map, though there is such a place as Kothadara there But from the other places I have found, Rācchavam, the village conveyed by the grant, appears to be the modern Racheed.

TRANSCRIPT

१ ॐ स्वस्ति विजयविक्षेपात् भरुकच्छप्रद्वारनास [श] कान्[1] सकलघनपटलविनिर्गत
रजनीकरकरावबोधितकुमुद-

२ धवलशय [ ] प्रतापस्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसङ्कटप्रमुखगतनिहतशत्रुसामन्त
कुलवधूप्रभातसम-

३ यरुदितफ [च्छ] लोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंशप्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो-
दृष्टवज्रमणिकोटिरुचिरदी-

४ धितिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुर [रा] भ्यागतार्थिजन [ना] क्लिष्ट-
परिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्ट-

५ पैकसहायधर्म्मसञ्चय प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसाद
प्रकाशीकृतविदग्धना-

६ गरकस्वभावो विमलगुणपञ्जरक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचयः **श्रीमद्दद**स्तस्यसूनु [ᐧ]
समदप्रतिद्वंद्विगजघटा-

७ भेदिनिस्त्रिंशविक्रमप्रकटितमृगपतिकिसो [शो] रवीर्य [र्या] वलेपः पयोनिधिकृत
उभयतटप्ररूढध [व] नलेख [खा] विहृतनिरंकुशदानप्रवा-

८ हप्रवृत्तदिग्दान्तिविभ्रमगुणसमूह स्फटिककर्पूरपिण्डपाण्डुरयशश्चन्दनचर्च्चितसमुन्नतगगन
लक्ष्मीपयोध-

९ रोत्सङ्ग **श्रीजयभट**स्तस्यात्मज प्रतिहतसकलजगद्व्यापिदोषाधिकारविजृम्भितसन्तति-
मोवृत्वि [त्ति] रधिकगुरुस्नेह-

१० संपन्नविमलदशोद्भासितजीवलोक परमबोधममानुगतो विपुलगुर्ज्जरनृपान्म [न्व] यप्र-
दीपतामुपगत·

११ समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्ददः कुशली सर्व्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति-
ग्रामकूटयु-

१२ क्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरादीन्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो-
रात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपुण्ययशो-

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1 This may I think be also read as भरुकच्छपूर्व्द्वार though the letters exactly look like the प I find in other places in the copper plate

१३ भिवृद्धये अभिच्छन्नवास्तव्यत [?] चातुर्विद्यसा [सं] मान्यकश्यपश (स) गोत्र
बह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिभट्टगोविंदस्त-

१४ स्यसूनुभट्टनर [नारा] यण [णा] य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्च [ञ्च] महाज-
[य] ज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पण [णा] र्थं अङ्कुलेश्वरविषय [या] न्तःपातिराच्छु

१५ वं ग्रामोस्याघ [घा] टस्थ [ा] नानि पूर्वत. वारणेरग्राम. दक्षिणतः वरंदनद [दी]
पश्चिमत शुंठवडकग्राम. उत्तरत-

१६ अ [स ?] रठुअंग्राम एवमयं स्वचतुराघाटनविशुद्धो ग्राम सोद्रङ्गसपरिकरसधान्यहिर-
ण्यदेयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक-

१७ समस्तराजकीयन [याना] मप्रवेश्यम [मा] चंद्रर्का [द्रार्का] र्णवक्षितिसरितपर्वत-
समानकालीनपुत्रपौत्र न्वयक्रमोपभोग्यपूर्वप्रत्तदेव

१८ ब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जमभ्यांतरसिद्ध [माभ्यन्तरासिध्या] शकनृपकालातीतमंवच्छ [त्स]-
रशतश्चतुष्टयेसप्तदशाधिकेयेष्ट [ज्येष्ठा] मावास्यासूर्यग्रा-

१९ हे उदकादिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं [त] यतोस्योचित [या] ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः
कर्षयतो भुञ्जतो भोजयत प्रतिदिश-

२० तो वा न व्यासेध· प्रवर्तितव्य [.] तथागामिभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैर·
सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य बिन्दूल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्या-

२१ णि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचञ्च [ञ्च] जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विसे [शे] षोयमस्मद्-
[दा] योनुमन्तव्य. पालयितव्यश्च तथाचोक्तं–

२२ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त (क्ता) राजभि सगरादिभि । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलम् ॥ यश्च [श्चा] ज्ञानतिमिरावृतमतिरा-

२३ च्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा स पञ्च [ञ्च] भिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्चसंयुक्त [:]
स्यादिति उक्त च भगवता वेदव्याशे [से]

२४ न व्याशे [से] न षष्टिंवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद· । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ यानिह दत्तानि पुरा-

२५ तनानि दानानि धर्मार्थयस [श] स्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत । स्वदत्ता परदत्तां वा य-

२६ त्नाद्रक्षनराधिपः [प] मही महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं । लिखितमिदं संधि-
विग्रह [हा] धिकृतरेवेण म (मा) धवसुतेन श्रीवीतरागसूनो. स्वहस्तोयं मम

२७ श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य.

TRANSLATION.

Security [freedom] from interruption in the race of victory calculated to violate the gate of the city of Bharukaccha There was Śrīmad-Dada,--whose fame and glory, as purely bright as the lotus blown open by the rays of the moon darting forth from an envelope of clouds, filled the cavity of the sky ;--the bright achievements of whose sword the wives of the inimical chiefs slain by him in the innumerable battles, sang as it were in the morning by means of their cries of lamentation,--whose person was adorned by a crown shining with the refulgent rays of a crore of diamonds polished by being rubbed against the lotus-like feet of gods, Brahmans, and preceptors --whose stock of religious desert, which is the only thing that enables one to go to Heaven, was always increasing in consequence of his liberally fulfilling the desire for wealth of the begging poor, the helpless, the distressed, and of the ted way-farer,--and who, propitiating proud damsels angry ccount of love-quarrels by addressing sweet words to them, showed himself to be a skilful gallant,--and who dispersed by his many bright virtues the thick darkness of Kali His son was Jaya-bhata, who showed the valour of a young lion, by achieving with his sword the destruction of the herds of elephants belonging to his enemies,--and who by his diversions on both sides of the sea, and the unstinted flow of his bounty,[1] realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters,--and who, on the high cloud-breasts[2] of sky-Lakṣmī, rubbed sandal-wood ointment in the shape of his as pure as a crystal or a ball of camphor His son Śrīmad-Dada, who has dispelled the darkness that grew thick and intense through the power of evil, and overspread the whole earth,--who has purified all the quarters by his very great kindness,[3] and embellished the world of the living,--who possesses true knowledge, and has become the luminary of the Gurjjara dynasty,—who has obtained the five

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1 There is a play on the word Dāna here, which means, 'giving' as well as the '*humour flowing from the temples of an elephant*' *The other words* in the compound may also be interpreted in two ways

2 A play on the word Payodhara, which means 'a cloud' as well as the 'female breast'

3 A play on the word Sneha, which means 'oiliness' as well as 'kindness,'

great sounds, and is the great king of kings,—enjoying good health, commands all governors of districts and sub-divisions, all villagers, those in office or unemployed, great men, chief men, &c —

Be it known to you, that for the increase of my father's, mother's and my own, holiness and goodness as regards the next world, I have granted, by pouring water, on the new-moon day of Jyestha, in the year of the Saka king four hundred and seventeen, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, to Bhatta Narayana,—the son of Bhatta Govinda, residing in Abhicchatra,—respected among persons conversant with the four Vedas,—of the Kasyapa Gotra, —and student of Bahvrcha (Rgveda), for the proper execution of the rites of Bali, Caru, Vaisvadeva, Agnihotra, the five great sacrifices, &c , the village of Racchchavam, situated in the district of Ankulesvara, the boundaries of which are the village of Vara-nera in the east, the river Varunde to the south, the vill end, Sunthavadaka to the west, and Sarathuam to the north The village, with these boundaries specified, along with the ha and whatever pertains to it, along with the revenue in grain or gold, and with whatever may be raised on the land by labour except what in the village may have been granted to Gods and Brahmans before—the said grant not to be interfered with by the delegates of the king, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the sea, the earth, rivers, and mountains shall endure, and to be enjoyed from father to son (lit son to grandson) Therefore, no obstruction should be made to him, who, in virtue of the rights conferred by this Brahman grant, ploughs the land or causes it to be ploughed, enjoys it or makes another enjoy it or assigns it to another person So also should future kings, whether of our race or others, knowing the fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, and bearing in mind that prosperity is unsteady like a drop [of water] and transitory, and life as fleeting as a drop of water at the end of a blade of grass, confirm and continue this our grant, as if it were their own For it is said —" Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit to each lasts only so long as he is in possession " And he who, with his good sense enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, should take away this land or approve another person's doing so,

would be as sinful as if he had committed the five great sins and five minor sins For it is said by the revered Vyāsa, the editor of the Vedas —"He who grants land lives in Heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who takes it away, or approves of its being so taken away, passes so many years in hell The grants made in past times with the view that they might conduce to raise a man's moral desert, wealth or fame, are like flowers worn and withered. What good man would resume them? O King, O Thou, the best of the lords of the earth! do maintain with care a grant of land made whether by thyself or anybody else; to maintain a grant is a greater virtue than to make one".

This is written by Reva, the son of Mādhava, counsellor in peace and war. This is the sign-manual of myself, Praśāntarāga, the son of Śrī-Vītarāga.

ON THE VALABHĪ CHRONOLOGY

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume III, 1874, pp 303f]

(The following appeared as a letter, dated 24th August 1874, to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary, in reply to a letter from Mr Jas Fergusson, charging Sir R G Bhandarkar with having "so curiously misquoted him," in his paper on the Interpretation of the Valabhī Dates (printed earlier here) Mr Fergusson's letter appears in the Indian Antiquary, Vol III, pp 235f)–N B U

Allow me to say a few words with regard to the charge of misquotation brought against me by Mr Fergusson[1] He himself quotes the passage in my article, on which he founds the charge, in a mutilated form, for he omits an important clause at the end, which is calculated to throw light on my real meaning The whole passage is —

"Mr Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhī era, but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 year, or, according to the old reading 330 years, is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhaṭārka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, *supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Droṇasiṃha's Coronation* " The words in Italics have not been given by Mr Fergusson

It would, I think, appear from this that my meaning is as follows —On the supposition that the era of the Valabhī dynasty began with the founder of the dynasty or with Droṇasiṃha's Coronation,—the only rational suppositions that can be made,—it would be necessary to assign 272 or 330 years or thereabouts to the six reigns,—a period which is too long, if the dates in the Valabhī plates were taken to refer to the Valabhī era This necessity has, " escaped Mr Fergusson's notice," i e, he has left out of sight the fact that the only rational hypothesis is that the era should have derived its initial date from either of the two events ; and also the consequences of the fact, viz that it

[1] Indian Antiquary, Vol III, pp. 235f

would be necessary to assign too long a period, i e, 272 or 330 years to these six reigns This is my meaning I have not said categorically that Mr Fergusson assigns 272 or 330 years to the six reigns It was thoroughly immaterial to my argument how many years he actually assigned to those reigns, which assignment must be quite arbitrary My object was to give reasons why the Valabhī dates should not be referred to the era of the dynasty, and this I have done in the sentence complained of by Mr Fergusson I think the gist of my paper as a whole, and the concluding clause I have italicized, ought to have saved me from being misunderstood; but since they have not proved adequate to the task, I see I ought not to have been so brief as I was at the end of the article I have so little succeeded in making myself understood, that Mr Fergusson still says that no one has "given any reason why the Valabhī Kings should use any other era than that that bears their name" I cannot say why they should not have used their era, but I believe they did not use it, for if they did, it would be necessary to assign 272 or 330 years to the six reigns on the only rational suppositions about its initial date stated above But if they did use the so-called Valabhī era, the era could not have been theirs But of this more below.

The period of 120 years assigned by Mr Fergusson to these six reigns appears to me to be too long, for though the reigns are six, the generations are only three, for, the sixth individual, Guhasena, was the grandson of the first Bhatārka, and the usual average of twenty years is held applicable in these cases in which the reigns represent so many generations, Bhatārka must have been a middle-aged man, when he founded the kingdom; and the period between the time when a man arrives at that age and the death of his grandson is in very rare cases so long as 120 years. The tradition which Mr Fergusson adduces in support of his view is very vague Supposing it to be trustworthy in every way—which it is not, as I will give reasons to believe—Skandgupta may have reigned for even 20 or 30 years after 141, and Śri Dharasena may have begun his reign even 20 years before 272, in which case, the duration of the six reigns would be reduced to 91 or 81 years But the tradition itself, though interesting as giving the truth generally, cannot be considered to be true in the

particulars. For in the first place it makes Cakrapāni, the son of Prandat, who is certainly the Cakrapālita, son of Parnadatta of the Junagadh Inscription,[1] Viceroy of the father of Kumāragupta, and grandfather of Skandgupta, while the Inscription represents Parnadatta as Skandagupta's Viceroy, and Cakrapālita as Governor of a certain town, appointed to that place by his own father. Again, Skandagupta is represented as a weak king in the tradition; while his Inscriptions, magniloquent though they are, do show that he must have been a powerful monarch Lastly, Bhatārka is mentioned as having assumed the title of king, while Valabhī copper-plates speak of him as a Senāpati and represent Dronasimha his second son, to have first assumed the title[2] The tradition, therefore, is not entitled to any reliance as regards the particulars It simply gives us what was known before that the Valabhis succeeded the Guptas.

Now as to the general question of the Valabhī chronology, and of the era to which the dates in the copper-plate grants are to be referred, I have recently seen reasons to modify the opinion I expressed more than two years ago Even then the mention of Valabhī by Hwan Thsang as a flourishing city, and of Druvapatta as its king, seemed to me not to harmonize with my view, but having brought the known kings of that dynasty upto 434 A D[3], I was in hopes that further researches might bring to light the names of other kings, so as to bring the dynasty down to Hwan Thsang's time But three copper-plates have since turned up, yet none of them goes beyond the last king of the former plates, Śilāditya II. And the characters of the Valabhī grants are so different from, and so much modern than, those of Gautamīputra's Inscription at Nasik, which I have recently translated, along with most of the other Nasik Inscriptions, that it appears that from two to three centuries must have elapsed between Gautamīputra and the Valabhīs Gautamīputra I have, in common with Mr Fergusson,

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, pp 122, 123

2 Mr Wathen's plate, JASB, Vol IV, and another in my possession containing a grant by Guhasena, not yet translated.

3 Ind Ant. Vol. I, page 45, and JBBRAS, Vol X, p 75. [These articles are printed in the preceding pages of this volume.]—N. B. U.

assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century. The Valabhī characters resemble very much those in the Cālukya grants of the early part of the eighth century [1] For these and other reasons I have begun to think that the Valabhī dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka But that they cannot be referred to what is considered as the era of the dynasty, I still maintain, for the reasons I have given in my paper and explained above. It appears to me, there is some confusion about this era. Albiruni calls it the era of Ballaba and Col Tod's Somnāth Inscription, the era of Śrīmad Balabhī as if Ballaba or Balabhī were the name of an individual But in the dynasty of Bhatārka there is no king of that name, so that it is doubtful, whether the era was really of Bhatārka's family If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was in use in Surāstra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhī dates may be referred to it Or more likely, since the Guptas who preceded that dynasty, introduced their era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era But there is no difference in effect, since the initial dates of both are the same I thus see much reason for the present to agree with Mr Fergusson in the Valabhī chronology he has given in his paper, except in so far as he has adopted the dates misread by the previous translators,[2] though there is difference between us as to the era, which is rather of a verbal nature I therefore arrange the Valabhī kings thus —

Guhasena (grant not yet translated) 250 G or 568 A D

Dharasena II (grant translated by Wathen) 272 G or 590 A D

Śilāditya I (grant translated by me,[3] Ind Ant Vol I, p. 45f) 286 G. or 604 A D

Dharasena IV (two grants translated by me,[4] Ind Ant Vol I, pp 14ff and 45f) 326 G or 644 A D.

Siladitya II (two grants) 356 G or 674 A D

1 JBBRAS, Vol III

2 JRAS, Volume IV (New Series)

3 This is included in this volume earlier.—[N. B. U.]

4 This is also included in this volume earlier.—[N. B U]

A REVISED TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF A CĀLUKYA COPPER-PLATE GRANT

WITH REMARKS ON THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY KINGS OF THE CĀLUKYA DYNASTY.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XIV, 1878-80 pp.16ff.]

(Read before the Society on the 6th of April 1878)

The copper-plate grant, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure to submit to the Society to-day, was procured by Government at the request of Mr. James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and was referred to the Society for remarks The Secretary had the kindness to forward it to me, and as I had been informed that it was a grant of the Cālukya dynasty, in the early history of which there are still so many doubtful points, I took it up with eagerness, hoping by its assistance to clear up some of these , but, on reading it, was disappointed to find that it was identically the same as that translated by Prof Bal Gangadhar Shastri, and published in the Second Volume of the Journal of this Society I have, however, prepared a fresh transliteration, strictly faithful, reproducing even the mistakes of the original, and a translation But there is no difference of any importance between this and Prof Bal Shastri's He has in one place read अ and आ as ॡ I have replaced the vowels. My translation also varies a little from his, especially in the latter part

This is all that I need have said on the present occasion ; but there are one or two very important points with regard to the chronology of this dynasty, as gathered from Inscriptions recently published, which remain doubtful, and which I have been often revolving in my mind with a view to be able to throw light on them I will, therefore, embrace this opportunity to discuss them But before I proceed, it will be necessary to summarize the information that we possess about the earlier Cālukya kings.

Sir Walter Elliot was the first antiquarian who, from an examination of certain Inscriptions, published a genealogy and a short account of this dynasty, in the Fourth Volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Subsequently he gave an

amended list in a number of the Madras Literary Journal. But facsimiles or transcripts of the Inscriptions from which he derived his information were not published, and when other documents were subsequently discovered, it became a difficult matter to reconcile, in some cases, the information obtained from these with that given by him, and there were some inconsistencies even in the two lists he had published. He had, however, made a large collection of Inscriptions, a good many of which he himself had not examined. One copy of the Deccan series of this collection, he says in a letter addressed to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary, he forwarded at the time to the Bombay Literary Society; but it is not forthcoming. Another he presented to the Literary Society of Madras, a third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and a fourth he reserved for his own use. This last was subsequently presented to the Library of the Edinburgh University, and now it is in the hands of Mr Fleet, who has been publishing several important Inscriptions from it in the Indian Antiquary. In the mean time, a photograph of a valuable Inscription of this dynasty from Iwulli or Aihole was published in the Volume issued by the Committee of Architectural Antiquities in Western India; and another, in the cave at Badami, was discovered and published by Mr Burgess. From these materials, and from the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob in the Third Volume of the Journal of this Society, the following genealogy of the early Cālukya kings may be deduced, which to my mind is entirely satisfactory.—

Jayasimha
|
Ranarāga
|
Pulakeśi I
|
Kīrtivarman — Mangalīśa

Kīrtivarman
|
Pulakeśi II
|
Vikramāditya
|
Vinayāditya
|
Vijayāditya
|
Vikramāditya II

The names of the first six kings are given in the Aihole Inscription composed by a Jain of the name of Ravikīrti. One of them,

Mangalīśa, is not mentioned in the grants executed by subsequent kings, and the reason is obvious, for the object was to give the pedigree of the grantor, and not the names of all the kings that reigned before him. The Inscription at Badami, however, was engraved at the orders of that king, and his having occupied the throne is alluded to in the subsequent grants, including the one before the Society to-day, where it is said that Pulakeśi II, by his power, got back his own kingdom and subjugated those of other kings. Mangalīsa, as is evident from Ravikīrti's Inscription, intended to transmit the sovereignty to his own son, passing over Pulakeśi, but the latter baffled his endeavours This Pulakeśi is represented, in almost all the grants in which his name is mentioned, to have defeated Harsavardhana, the paramount sovereign of Northern India Hwan Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India in the time of Harsavardhana The Pulakeśi, therefore, whom he met in Mahārāstra must have been the same king, i e, Pulakesi II

The genealogy given above agrees with Sir Walter Elliot's first list. But between Pulakesi II and Vikramāditya he inserts two names—Amara and Ādityavarmā Since in most of the plates Vikramāditya is styled the beloved son of Pulakeśi, and in one of Sir LeGrand Jacob's grants, his eldest brother is named Indrāditya, and in another, Candrādityа, it follows that Pulakeśi made Vikramāditya, though a younger son, his successor, and probably appointed the others to rule over other provinces These may be the Amara and Ādityavarmā of Sir Walter Elliot The names of these two princes, somewhat disguised, occur also in the Miraj Inscription published by Mr Wathen [1] But the statement that Amara was Pulakesi's son, Ādityavarmā, Amara's, and Vikramāditya, Ādityavarmā's, must be rejected as occurring in a grant executed about four centuries after they flourished, in favour of that made in a great many contemporary plates

In the time of Pulakesi II, Visnuvardhana, his younger brother founded the Eastern branch of the dynasty, which ruled over Tailangana Another younger brother is the Jayasimha of our plate, whose son Nāgavardhana was the grantor of the village conveyed by it. These are called simple rājas, or chiefs, and appear

1 JRAS, Vols. II and III.

to have been appointed to rule over some petty provinces, and were distinct from the princes of the Eastern line. This last point is indicated by the fact that the seal of the former, attached to the grant before us, bears the expression श्रीजयाश्रय engraved on it, probably after the name of Jayasimha the first prince; while that of the latter, as found in their grants, has the words श्रीविषमसिद्धिः.[1] This was one of the titles of Visnuvardhana In Prof Bal Shastri's first plate this epithet is used before the name of Visnuvardhana,[2] whence it appears that this prince was identical with the founder of the Eastern line The device on the seals of these two branches is the same, viz a crescent on the top, and the sun below The kings mentioned in Prof Dowson's plate[3] also do not appear to have belonged to the main line This grant seems to me, from the style, which is so different from that of the other Cā'ukya plates, and from the omission of the name of the era, which is always given in these latter, to have been forged by somebody in Gujarat, where it was found No other grant of the early Cālukyas has, to my knowledge, yet been discovered in that province, and in the two points I have mentioned, Prof Dowson's plate resembles those of the Valabhī and Gūrjara kings

Some of the dates[4] given by Sir Walter Elliot are hopelessly inconsistent with those we find in the published grants Until the originals in which they occur are published, no attempt can be made to reconcile them But if those occurring in the documents now rendered available to all inquirers, do not conflict with each other, we may rely on their perfect truthfulness One important Inscription, however, that of Ravikīrti at Aihole, gives a date which is inconsistent with that found in the grant of the Great Pulakesi This latter was executed in Śaka 534, which is represented as the third year of his reign, so that Pulakeśi came to the throne, after his uncle Mangalīsa, in 532 Śaka, corresponding 610 A D But Ravikīrti represents him to have been reigning, after having conquered all his enemies and defeated the para-

1 Burnell's South Indian Palæography, Pl A, p, 75.

2 JBBRAS, Vol II, p 11.

3 JRAS, Vol I, N. S

4 So also is the date 411 Śaka of Pulakeśi I, occurring in an Inscription published by Mr. Wathen in JRAS, Vol. V, p. 345.

mount sovereign of the North, in Śaka 506, corresponding to 586 A D The date in the grant appears more probable, since from the account of the Chinese traveller it is clear that the defeat of Harsavardhana must have taken place between the years 618 and 627 A D Under these circumstances Dr Fergusson, as a zealous student of Indian antiquities, and carrying with him the sympathies of all fellow-labourers in the field, feels sorely disappointed with these Inscriptions, and in a letter addressed to the editor of the Indian Antiquary, dated 30th January 1873, asks the learned readers of that Journal "whether they can offer any solution of this difficulty, or whether, on the contrary, we must be prepared to meet with such falsifications again in other places"

Mr Fleet, in March 1877, attempts an explanation He thinks that the Eastern and Western branches of the dynasty separated in Śaka 533, and that Pulakesi was crowned again ; and hence the statement in the grant that Saka 534, or, according to Mr Fleet's way of taking it, 535, was the third year of his reign,—i e, Pulakesi was actually reigning in Śaka 506, as we are told by Ravikīrti, but that he was crowned again in Saka 533 The separation of the two families could certainly be no sufficient ground for crowning him again, and for neglecting the first years of his reign ; and this explanation leaves out of consideration altogether the disagreement of this date with that gathered from the Chinese writer, for Pulakesi could not, according to the statements of these, have defeated Harsavardhana before 506 Saka or 584 A D

Again, Ravikīrti gives two other dates as corresponding to his 506 Saka, viz, 3550 of the Kaliyuga, and 3730 of the era of the war of the Mahābhārata Now the Saka era began in Kali 3179, which being subtracted from 3550 of the Inscription, gives 371 as the Śaka year corresponding to Kali 3550, so that, if the Kali era from which Ravikīrti calculated is the same as ours, he is perfectly inconsistent with himself

Dr Buhler removes this inconsistency by referring the date 507[1] (506+1) to the era of Vikrama, for by subtracting 3044,

1 Since in giving the date as referred to an era, the writers of these documents use an expression which signifies 'having elapsed," Dr. Buhler and Mr Fleet think the year next following to be the year that was current when the document was written, and so add one to the given date.

which is the number of Kali years that had elapsed before the era began, from 3551 (3550+1), we get 507[1] "It seems evident" to him that the writer has referred his real Vikrama date to the Śaka era, either intentionally or inadvertently Inadvertently, it is hard to believe, since instead of the ordinary expression, he uses the word शकानामपि भूभुजाम् in order that they may fit in with his metre, and it must have cost him some conscious effort to devise them He must, therefore, have done so intentionally But what could have been his motive? None, that I can see Besides, as Dr Buhler himself tells us, the Vikrama era is not used in the Cālukya records, and, I may add, it was never known in the South But, with all this, the explanation only increases the difficulties we have been considering It places Pulakeśi earlier than the date given in his grant by, not 26 years as before, but by 26+135, the latter being the number of years by which the Vikrama is earlier than the Saka, and necessitates the supposition that the Harsavardhana, the paramount sovereign of the North defeated by him, was not the one usually known by that name, but another, and that the Pulakesi, seen by Hwan Thsang and represented even by him as invincible to Harsavardhana, was also another prince But no other paramount sovereign of the North, bearing the name and living before the seventh century, has yet been discovered, nor do we know of a Pulakesi living in that century that was not the son of Kīrtivarman, and the nephew and successor of Mangalīsa In other words, there was no Harsavardhana for Dr Buhler's Pulakesi of the fifth century to defeat, nor a Pulakesi to be the invincible rival of the Harsavardhana of the seventh, if the son of Kīrtivarman is placed two centuries earlier. The dates in the grants of all subsequent kings of both the branches of the Cālukya family, which at present harmonize with that actually found in Pulakeśi's copper-plate, will have, under Dr Buhler's explanation, similarly, to be made earlier by 135 years.

The fact, however, is that the agreement between the account given by Hwan Thsang and the statements and dates we find in the Cālukya plates is so complete, that it is impossible to doubt that the later Pulakesi, mentioned by Ravikīrti, and in the

1 Ind Ant, Vol V, p 152.

grants, was really the invincible foe of Hwan Thsang's Harsavardhana, and must have lived in the seventh century

Under these circumstances let us see whether we cannot arrive at such an interpretation of the verses in Ravikīrti's Inscription as will remove all the discrepancies we have been noticing. They are as follow :—

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः । सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च । समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

Before proceeding, it must be observed that the eras of the war of the Bhārata and of the Kaliyuga are not two different eras The Kaliyuga era, when referred to the legendary history of the country, becomes the era of the Bhārata war, since this, according to all authorities, took place at the end of the Dvāpāra and the beginning of the Kaliyuga Similarly, when referred to the most prominent person in the story—the king who after having crushed all his enemies reigned supreme, it becomes the era of Yudhisthira. That the era of Yudhisthira is the same as that of the Kaliyuga appears clear from the statements in the ordinary Hindu Pañcānga or Almanac " In the Kali age there are six founders of eras First, there was Yudhisthira in Indraprastha, whose era lasted for 3,044 years ; the second was Vikrama, (who flourished) at Ujjayinī, whose era had a run of 135 years , the third was Śālivāhana at Pratisthāna, whose era is to last for 18,000 years "[1] Now, whatever the number of years for which the Śālivāhana era, as the Śaka era is called in modern times, will last, it is certain that it has lasted for 1799 years, and the 1800th year has commenced Adding 3,044, 135, and 1,800, we get 4,979, which is exactly the present Kali year given in the Pañcānga. So that if the era of Yudhisthira had continued to be used, the present would have been its 4979th year, as it is of the Kali The two eras, therefore, are one and the same

Now, the manner in which dates are given in these Inscriptions is "so many years of or after so and so having elapsed," which is expressed by using the locative absolute of the numeral, of a word denoting "year," and of a participle signifying "lapse" The following are the words occurring in the Ślokas —

1 Ganpat Kṛishnaji's Pañcānga for Śaka 1800, p. 2.

30,3,000, from the Bhārata war to this, together with 700 years, hundreds, years, 5.

50, in the Kali age, 6, and 500, years of the Saka kings having elapsed

Now Dr Bhau Daji and Mr Fleet take the first 30,3,000, and 700 together, and form 3,730 from the war of the Bhārata Out of the next three numerals, i e, 5, hundreds, and 50, by taking 5 to agree with hundreds we have 550 This they tack on to " in the Kali age ", but since this is too small a period for that era, 3,000, which has already been construed with the preceding, is here repeated, and the whole is made 3,550 We have now 6 and 500 left, and this is assigned to the Śaka

Now the objections to this interpretation are :—First, that the Kali and Bhārata eras are not different Secondly, this repetition of 3,000, after it has once been construed, is altogether arbitrary why not repeat the hundreds also? Thirdly, while you have the word Samatītāsu " having elapsed, " to qualify the feminine substantive Samāsu " year, "—in the case of the Saka, you have no such word before to agree with the substantive Abdesu, and the feminine Samatītasu cannot be brought back, as Abda is either masculine or neuter

Now, I think that the word Satesu "hundreds," which we have before Abdesu " years," ought to be Gatesu " having elapsed," and then it will qualify Abdesu, as Atītāsu does Samāsu What constitutes the difference between the श sa and ग ga of the cave characters is that the former has a small stroke in the interior of its semi-ellipse, while the latter has none Now, it is quite possible that the engraver should have easily committed the mistake of putting in a stroke where it was not wanted, especially since the letter with the stroke, he had to engrave just four letters before And several such mistakes do occur in this Inscription My interpretation, therefore, is this :-

" 30, 3,000, together with 700 (i e, 3,735) years having elapsed since the war of the Bhārata"—Here the first verse ends.— " In the Kali age, 50, 6, and 500 (i e 556) years of the Saka kings also having elapsed ' This is the sense of the second verse The words ' in the Kali age' may be connected with both, and the ex-

pression does not indicate a particular era, but a certain period in the existence of the world. It is used here in the same way in which, when we begin our religious ceremonies, we use it in mentioning the day of the month and year

We thus obtain two dates from this Inscription, the Bhārata date, which is the same as the Kali date, 3,735, and the Śaka date 556 Now, substracting the Kali and Saka equation[1] (3,179) from 3,735, we have 556 as the Saka corresponding to that Kali date : i. e., the 3,735th year of the Kali was the 556th as the Saka Thus Ravikīrti's inconsistency is removed Again, instead of 506 Śaka for Pulakeśi, we get 556 Saka or 634 A D, which perfectly harmonizes with his having begun to reign in Śaka 532, or 610 A. D., and with the date of his defeat of Harsavardhana, which took place between 618 and 627 A D, since Ravikīrti speaks in 6`4 A.D., of Pulakeśi having done so before he wrote

There is another date which does not harmonize with the rest In the Badami Inscription of Mangalīsa, the 501st year of the Śaka era is mentioned as the tenth of his reign, so that his brother Kīrtivarman, whom he succeeded, must have died in 488 Śaka, or 566 A D Now, since Pulakeśi, his son, had two younger brothers, he must have been, when his father died, at least five years old, so that when Hwan Thsang saw him, in about 639 A D, he must have been at least 78 years old A man verging on 80 can hardly be a man of vigour, as Pulakesi was when the Chinese pilgrim saw him.

As to this, it must be borne in mind that the grantor of land is not necessarily in every case the reigning sovereign. The Nāgavardhana of our plate, for instance, did not belong to the reigning line of the Cālukya princes, and we have seen that of the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob, two were made by the wife of Vikramāditya's elder brother. There is nothing in the Inscription at Badami to show that Mangalīśa, who dedicates the cave temple to Visnu, and assigns a village for the support of sixteen Brahmans and of recluses, was reigning at the time. On the contrary—from the manner in which he resigns all the religious merit arising from the act, in favour of his elder brother

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1 Ante, p. 265.

Kīrtivarman, who is represented as powerful enough to protect the whole earth, cal's upon the gods Āditya and Agni and the assembled crowd of men to witness this act, as if to show his sincerity, and to disarm the jealousy that might arise in the mind of his brother and that of other persons, and claims for himself only the fruit resulting from serving his brother faithfully, —it appears to me pretty clear that he was not. Dedications for the benefit of departed souls were not made in such a manner, the usual formula being "for the increase of the religious merit of such and such a one," as will be seen even from the grant before us Mangalīsa was probably his brother's general or lieutenant, and thus characterizes his act as a piece of obedient service The twelfth year of the reign of some prince, therefore, in which the cave-temple was consecrated must have been the twelfth year of Kīrt varman's reign If so, the latter, and not Mangalīsa, came to the throne in Saka 488, or A D 566

And now we are enabled to explain the dates given in Mr. Telang's plates,[1] which otherwise are altogether unintelligible. Ravikīrti expressly states that Mangalīsa became king after the death of his brother, and that he conquered the Revatīdvīpa Mr. Telang's grant was made in 532 Śaka and the twentieth year of some reign, by the governor of four districts, who was stationed in Vijaya-Revatīdvīpa, and acted under the orders of Pṛthivī-Vallabha Mahārāja This date is so near to the time of the conqueror of Revatīdvīpa that the island may very reasonably be regarded as being subject to the Cālukyas at the time And that it was so, is proved by the Cālukya title, Pṛthivī-Vallabha-Mahārāja of the sovereign, to whom the grantor owed allegiance. Kīrtivarman could not be this Cālukya prince, for the island was not conquered in his time Neither could he be Pulakeśi, for Śaka 532 was not the twentieth year of his reign, but the first or the next before the first, if we adopt the interpretation alluded to in a previous foot-note He must then have been Mangalīśa But Śaka 532 could not have been the twentieth year of his reign, if, according to the received way of understanding the date in the Badami Inscription, his accession took place in 488 Śaka While if we take this to be the initial date of Kīrtivarman's reign, all

1 JBBRAS, Vol. X, pp 365-6

that it is necessary for us to understand to render the whole consistent is that Kīrtivarma died in 512 Śaka, or 590 A D, after a reign of 24 years, and his brother succeeded him Pulakesi was crowned in 532 Śaka (610 A D), or in 533 Śaka (611 A D), wherefore Mangalīśa reigned for just twenty years, and Mr. Telang's grant was made in the last year of his reign In this manner, when Hwan Thsang saw Pulakesi in 639 A D, 49 years must have elapsed since his father's death, and not 73, as according to the other view of Mangalīsa's date it is necessary to suppose And if his age at the time was five years, he was 54 years old when the Chinese pilgrim saw him, and not 78, and may thus have appeared to him to be a man of vigour

The other dates do not present such inconsistencies, and may be accepted as true We thus arrive at the following chronology —

Kīrtivarman 566 A D to 590 A D (Śaka 488-512), reigned for 24 years (according to Badami Inscription, Ind. Ant, Vol III, p 305, and Mr Telang's grant, JBBRAS, Vol X, p 365)

Mangalīśa, 590 A D to 610 A D (Śaka 512-532), reigned for 20 years (Mr Telang's grant, and Ind Ant, Vol VI, p. 72)

Pulakeśi II, began to reign in 610 A D (Saka 532–Ind. Ant, Vol VI, p 72), was on the throne in 634 A D. (Saka 556—Ravikīrti's Inscription, Ind Ant, Vol V p 70), was seen by Hwan Thsang in 638-9 A D

Vikramāditya died in 679 A D (Saka 601—Ind Ant, Vol. VI, p 86)

Vinayāditya began to reign in 679 A D (601 Śaka—Ind. Ant, Vol VI, p 86); was reigning in 691 A D (Śaka 613—Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 89), and in 694 A D (Śaka 616—Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 92), died in 695 A D (Śaka 617—JBBRAS, Vol III, p 203), after a reign of 16 years

Vijayāditya began to reign in 695 A D. (Śaka 617), and was reigning in 705 A D. (Śaka 627—JBBRAS, Vol.

III, p 203); died in 733 A D (Śaka 655—Ind Ant, Vol. VII, p 107) after a reign of 38 years.

Vikramāditya II began to reign in 733 A D. (Śaka 655), and was on the throne in 734 (Śaka 656—Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 107)

TRANSCRIPT

१ ॐ स्वस्ति जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्णवं । दक्षिणोन्नत-
२ दंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपु ॥ श्रीमता सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमा-
३ नव्यसगोत्राणा हारीतीपुत्राणा सप्तलोकमातृभिः सप्तमातृभि-
४ रभिवर्धिताना कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणावाप्तकल्याणपरंपराणा
५ भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षण
६ क्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृता चालुक्याना कुलमलकरिष्णोर-
७ श्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीकीर्तिवर्म्म-
८ राजस्यात्मजोनेकनरपतिशतमकुटतटकोटिघृष्टचरणारवि-
९ न्दो मेरुमलयमन्दरसमानधैर्य्योहरहराभिवर्धमानवरकरिर-
१० थतुरगपदातिबलो मनोजवैककंठचित्राख्य प्रवरतुरंग-
११ मेणोपार्जितस्वराज्यविजितचेरचोलपाण्ड्यक्रमागतराज्यत्र-
१२ यः श्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपतिश्रीहर्षे
१३ पराजयोपलब्धापरनामधेय श्रीनागवर्धनपादानुध्या-
१४ ध्यातपरममाहेश्वर श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभ तस्यानुजो भ्राता विजिना
१५ रिसकलपक्षो धराश्रय श्रीजयसिंहवर्मराजस्तस्य सूनुस्त्रिभुवना-
१६ श्रयश्रीनागवर्धनराज सर्वानेवागामिवर्त्तम नभार्व्यायाश्च नरप-
१७ तीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु व संविदितं यथास्माभिर्गोपराष्ट्रविषयात-
१८ पातिबलेग्राम सोद्रङ्ग सपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेश्य आचंद्रार्कार्णव
१९ क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन मातापित्रोरुद्दिश्यात्मनश्च विपुलपुण्ययशोभि
२० वृध्यर्थं बलाम्मठकुरविज्ञप्तिकया कापालेश्वरस्य गुग्गुलपूजानिमित्त-
२१ तनिवासिमहाव्रतिभ्य उपभोगाय सलिलपूर्व्वकं प्रतिपादितस्तदस्म-
द्वंश्यै-
२२ रन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभि शरदभ्रचंचलं जीवितमाकलय्यायमस्मद्दायोनु-
मंतव्य
२३ प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं भगवता व्यासेन बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
२४ भिस्सगरादिभि यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
२५ स्वदत्ता परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरा षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां
जायते कृमिः ॥

TRANSLATION

Welfare

Victorious is Viṣṇu, manifested in the form of a boar, who agitated the ocean, and on the tip of whose uplifted tusk rested the earth The son of the prosperous king Kīrtivarman,—the stay of truth, whose body was purified by the closing ablutions of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, and who was the ornament of the race of the Cālukyas, who are prosperous, belong to the gotra of Manu, which is praised by the whole world, are the sons of Hārītī, are bred up by the seven goddesses of the world, resembling seven mothers, have obtained a succession of blessing through the protection of Kārttikeya, to whom all kings become subject immediately they see the Boar standard, obtained by the favour of the divine Nārāyana,—was the great devotee of Maheśvara, the prosperous Pulakeśivallabha, whose lotus-like feet were subject to the friction of the borders of the crowns of many hundred kings, whose firmness was as great as that of the Meru, the Malaya, and the Mandara; whose forces consisting of excellent elephants, chariots, horses, *and foot-soldiers were daily increasing*, who won back his own dominions and conquered the three old kingdoms of Cera, Cola, and Pāṇḍya, by [seated on the back of] the one excellent horse named Kantha-Citra, whose speed was as great as that of the mind, who obtained a new title by defeating Śrī-Harṣa, the lord of the Northern country, and who meditated on the feet of Nāgavardhana His younger brother was the prosperous king Jayasimhavarman, who conquered all the allies of his enemies, and was the support of the world His son, the prosperous king Nāgavardhana, the stay of the three worlds, informs all coming, present, and future kings —"Be it known to you that we have, by pouring water, granted, at the request of Bālamma Ṭhakkura, for the worship of Kāpāleśvara by offerings of Guggula, and for the benefit of the great ascetics residing there (in the temple), with a view to the increase of the religious merit and fame of our mother, father, and of ourselves, [the village of] Balegrāma, situated in the district of Goparāṣṭra, with the things growing on it, and with appurtenances, not to be entered on (*interfered with*) by officers and soldiers, and [the gift] to last as long as the

moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth endure. Therefore, future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that life is as transient as the autumnal clouds, should respect this our gift, and continue it. The revered Vyāsa has said, "Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit is reaped only by him who owns it, and at the time when he owns it. He who takes away the land given by himself or others lives as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA KARHAD PLATES OF KṚṢṆA III.

OF SAKA SAṀVAT 880

[From the Epigraphia Indica, Volume IV, 1896-97, pages 278-290]

These copper-plates were were found at Karhad in the Satara District while the foundations of an old and dilapidated house were being dug out, and were put into my hands by Mr Hari Narayan Apte, the present manager of the Ānandāsrama in Poona They are three in number, and each is 13¼ inches long and 9 inches broad The first and the third plates are engraved on one side, and the second on both The letters are well-formed and legible throughout, except in one place where an original mistake has been corrected by something else being engraved in its place (line 21)

The inscription on the plates records the grant of the village of Kankem (ll 62 and 65), situated in the district of Karahāta and belonging to the Kalli group of twelve (l 61 f), by Krsnarāja (v 24), who was also called Akālavarsa and Vallabha (l 55), and who was Krsna III of the Rastrakūta family The grantee was Gaganasiva ((ll 61 and 65), was versed in all the Siva-siddhāntas He was the pupil of Īsānasiva of Karahāta (l 59 f), —the modern Karhad ,—and the grant was made for the maintenance of the ascetics that lived at the place (l 61)

The date of the grant was Wednesday, the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna of the cyclic year Kālayukta, the Śaka year being 880 past (l 56 f) Professor Kielhorn has favoured the Editor with the following remarks on this date :— " Śaka-Samvat 880 expired by the Southern luni-solar system was Kālayukta, and the equivalent of the date is Wednesday, 9th March A D 959, when the 13th tithi of the dark half of the Amānta Phālguna commenced 2 h 33 m after mean sunrise The reason why the tithi has been joined here with the day on which it commenced, very probably is this, that the Naksatra on that day, (viz on the Wednesday) was Śatabhisaj ; for, the conjunc-

tion of the 13th tithi of the dark half of the pūrnimānta Caitra or amānta Phālguna with the nakṣatra Śatabhisaj—a conjunction at which the Tithi is called Vāruni— is very auspicious,[1] so that donations etc, made on such an occasion, are as meritorious as those made at an eclipse etc"

The account of the different princes of the family is given word for word in the same verses as those occurring in the plates found at Deoli near Wardha which have been published by me in Vol XVIII of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society[2]; and consequently the present grant, issued, as it was, eighteen years after the other, confirms the important statements contained in the latter, which have enabled us to clear all the existing difficulties in the genealogy and history of the family There is, however, some additional information given in this grant In the introduction, instead of the words Sātyaki-vargabhājah, we have in the Karhad plates (v 6) tunga-yaśah-prabhāvāh Still the reading of the Deoli plates is not a mistake, and the family was regarded as belonging to the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race, as we have a statement to that effect in the Navasari grants, also edited by me[3] But the varied reading of the present grant enables me to make out that the Rāstrakūtas sprang from a family that was known by the name of Tunga Hence it is that so many of the princes have their names ending in that word Krsna I was called Śubhatunga, Govinda III, Jagattunga, and Sarva or Amoghavarsa, Nrpatunga. Then in the description of Dantidurga we have one verse more than in the Deoli plates, in which his having wrested the supreme sovereignty for his own family from the Cālukyas is mentioned distinctly (v 9) There is also an additional verse about Nrpatunga or Amoghavarsa, who therein is represented, as in the Navasari grants, to have "burnt" or destroyed the Cālukya race

1 "A still more auspicious conjunction is that of the same tithi with a Saturday and Śatabhisaj, and an even more auspicious conjunction is that of the same tithi with Saturday, Śatabhisaj, and the Śubhayōga In the former case the tithi is called Mahāvārunī, and in the latter Mahā-mahāvārunī"

2 Included in this Volume later [N B U]

3 This is also included in this Volume later [N B. U]

(v. 14). In the account of Amoghavarsa, the Baddiga of the Kharepatan grant, the father of Krsna III, we have two additonal verses (22 and 23) descriptive of his virtues

The account in the Deoli plate ends with the coronation of Krsna III, and all that he is therein represented to have done, he did while he was a Kumāra, or crown-prince, and janakājñāvaśa, i e acting under his father's orders, or subordinate to him. In the present grant there is one verse more about him in this part, in which he is represented to have conquered Sahasrārjuna, who was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife (v 25). Sahasrārjuna is the mythical hero to whom the Kalacuri rulers of Cedi traced their descent, and who, in the story in the Mahābhārata, is represented to have killed Jamadagni, the father of Parasurāma, and in revenge to have had his thousand arms cut off by the latter Very likely, the rulers of Cedi generally, or some of them at least particularly, were called by the name of Sahasrārjuna after their mythical ancestor, and the name Arjuna does occur in the list of the princes belonging to that family. The Sahasrārjuna, therefore, conquered by our Krsna, must have been a ruler of Cedi or must have belonged to that family And it is also likely that he was a relative of his mother and his wife. For Amoghavarsa, the father of Krsna, is in the Karda plates represented to have married Kandakadevī, the daughter of Yuvarāja, who must have been the same as the fourth prince in the list given by Professor Kielhorn,[1] and it appears that Krsna himself married a lady from the same family Who the particular prince conquered by Krsna III was, it is difficult to say The name Arjuna or Sahasrārjuna does not occur in Professor Kielhorn's list But many other names of the Kalacuri princes related to the Rāstrakūtas also do not occur therein. The following is a list of those princes :—

1 Kokkala, whose daughter was married to Akālavarsa and was the mother of Jagattunga

2 Ranavigraha, his son, whose daughter Laksmī was married to Jagattunga and who was his maternal uncle.

1 Ep Ind Vol, II, p 304,

3. Arjuna, the eldest son of Kokkala and therefore brother of the above.

4. Anganadeva, his son, whose daughter Vijāmbā was married to Indra-Nityavarsa

5. Yuvarāja, whose daughter Kandakadevī was the wife, or one of the wives, of Amoghavarsa-Baddiga according to the Karda plates

6. Sahasrārjuna or Arjuna, the prince mentioned in the present grant as having been conquered by Krsna III

Of these, the names Ranavigraha, Arjuna and Anganadeva do not occur in Professor Kielhorn's list Perhaps they were collaterals and not ruling princes But that there was a ruling prince of Cedi of the name of Ranavigraha, is shown by the following verse occurring in Jahlana's Suktimuktāvalī, attributed to Rājasekhara

नदीनां मेकलसुता नृपाणां रणविग्रहः । कवीनां च सुरानन्दश्चेदिमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥

"Of rivers the Mekalasutā (i e Narmadā), of kings Ranavigraha, and of poets Surānanda, are the ornaments of the country of Cedi " Jagattunga's maternal uncle and father-in-law is called Samkaragana in the Karda plates; but that is probably a mistake The name Śamkaragana does occur in Professor Kielhorn's list down below; but he was not the son of Kokkala and consequently could not be the father-in-law of Jagattunga Where to place these three princes, therefore, in the Cedi list, must be left to future researches

After the account of Krsna's coronation, there are in the Karhad plates two verses more about the reigning monarch, in which we are told that he deposed some of his chiefs from their places and raised others to the dignity, separated some from each other and united others (v. 34); that, with the intention of conquering the South, he exterminated the Cola race and placed its country under his own dependents, and that, having made the Ceranma, the Pāndya and the Simhala his tributaries, he erected a triumphal column at Rāmesvara (v 35) The statement about the conquest of the Colas and the annexation of their territory is confirmed by two Inscriptions found at Tirukkalukkunram in the

Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency and edited and translated by Mr Venkayya[1] These Inscriptions are dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of Kannaradeva, and he is there spoken of as the conqueror of Kacchi (or Kāñcīpura) and Tañjai (identified with Tañjapūra or Tañjāvūr, i e Tanjore) This last was the capital of the Cola princes Another Inscription at Vellore is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign,[2] and there are two more in South Arcot Kannaradeva is evidently Kṛṣṇadeva; since Kannara we do find as an ordinary way of pronouncing Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava dynasty is in several Inscriptions called Kanhara or Kanhāra The very fact that so many Inscriptions in the country governed by the Colas and Pallavas are dated in Kṛṣṇa's reign, shows that the country formed part of the territory ruled over by him As stated by me in the paper on the Deoli plates, Būtuga or Būtayya, the same as the Bhūtārya of our grants, whom Kṛṣṇa had raised to the throne of the Ganga kingdom, is represented in an Inscription at Atakur to have assisted Kannaradeva in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola prince But the conquest of the Cola country was effected after Saka-Samvat 862, the date of the Deoli grant, since it is not mentioned in it, and before Saka Samvat 880, the date of the Karhad grant As the destruction of Rajāditya is alluded to in the Atakur Inscription as a recent event, it must have taken place a little before Saka 872 current, the date of that Inscription And the present grant affords direct evidence for Kṛṣṇarāja's occupation of the Cola country For it was issued while he was encamped with his victorious army at Melpāti for establishing his followers in the Southern provinces, for taking possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs, and for constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gandamārtanda, Kṛṣṇeśvara and others (ll 57 to 59) The Melpāti where he was encamped for settling the Southern provinces, must be Melpadi in the Chittur Taluka of the District of North Arcot[4] Whether there are now any temples at Melpadi or in the vicinity corresponding to those, to construct which was

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1 Ep Ind Vol III, pp 282 85

2 Ep Ind Vol IV, p 81

3 Ep Ind Vol II, p 173

4 Ep. Ind Volume IV, p 140, also Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol I, p 155.

another of the objects of the Rāstrakūta prince, must be left to be determined by those who are intimately acquainted with the country The conquest of the Pallava country, however, was effected before, since we have a mention of it in the Deoli plates.

The boundaries of the village granted are specified in line 63f. There is a village of the name of Kanki some miles to the south-east of Karhad, which is now included in the Junior Miraj State That village is, I am told, bounded on the South by another of the name of Pandur, and on the West by a third called Adhi The Kankem of the grant is therefore the modern Kanki, Pendurem, Pandur, and Adhem, Adhi The river in the vicinity is, I am told, now called Agrani, but the Krsnavenā, which corresponds to the Prakrit form Kanhavannā of the grant, is not far Perhaps Vannā, the latter part of the compound, was the old name of the Yerla, which flows through the district, and the river meant is the Krsnā after its confluence with the Yerla There is also a village of the name of Kalli in the vicinity, and the twelve villages of which it was or is the chief, have now the following names —

1 Kalli.	5 Adhi	9 Khatav
2 Kanki	6 Salgar	10 Nagnur
3 Ajura	7 Bekonki	11 Pandregamv (Pandur ?)
4 Sijur	8 Titur.	12 Tavsi

TRANSCRIPT[1]

FIRST PLATE

१ ओं[2] [॥] स जयति जगदुत्सवप्रवेशप्रथनपरः करपल्लवो मुरारेः । लसद-
मृतपयःकणाकलक्ष्मीरतनक-

२ लशाननलब्धसंनिवेशः[3] ॥ [१] जयति [च] गिरिजाकपोलबिम्बादधिगतपत्र-[4]
विचि [त्रित]ाभिभित्तिः[5] । [6]तृपुरविज-

३ यिनः प्रियोपरोधाद्धृतमद [न]ाभयदानशासनेव ॥ [२] श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तलै-
कतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो

४ मन्मथवान्धवः[7] कुमुदिनीनाथः सुधादीधितिः । [नि]ःशेषामरतर्पणार्पिततनु-
प्रक्षीणतालंकृते-

1 From the original plates 2 Expressed by a symbol 3 Read लब्ध.

4 Read बिम्बा° 5 Read °न्यास 6 Read त्रिपुर.

7 Read बान्धव:.

५ यस्यांशः शिर[सा] [1]गुणप्रियतया नूनं धृतः शम्भुना ॥ [३*] तस्माद्भिका-
सन१रः कु [मुदाव] लीनान्दोषा-

६ न्धकारदलनः [2]षरिपूरिताशः । ज्योत्स्नाप्रवाह इव दर्शितशुद्रपक्षः[3] प्रापर्त्तत[4]
क्षितितले क्षितिपा-

७ लवंशः ॥ [४*] अभवदतुलका [न्ति] स्तत्र [मु] क्तामणीना गण इव यदुवंश
दुग्धसिन्धूयमाने । अधिग-

८ तहारिनीलप्रोल्लस [न्न] । यकश्र्चरशिथिलगुण [सं] गो भूषणं यो भुवोभूत् ॥ [५*]
उ०कृत्तदे [त्य]कु-

९ लैकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्तत्रावतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति [तुं] गय-
श [प्र]-

१० भावास्तु [ग]। इति [क्षि] तिभुजः पृथिता वभूवुः ॥ [६*] क्षितितलतिल-
कस्तदन्वये च क्षतरिपुदान्तिघटोज निष्ट' र-

११ टः । [त] मनु च सुतराष्ट्रकूटनाम्ना भुवि विदितोजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः
[७*] तस्मादरातिवनिताकुचचारुहार-

१२ नीहारभानुरुदगादिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एक चकार [8]चतुरब्धुपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्रं
य एतदसिलागलभि [न्न] दुर्गः [॥ ८*]

१३ सुस्निग्धां घनपत्रसंचयकृत [च्छ]या मनोहारिणीमूढोदारफला समाश्रितजन-
श्रान्तिव्यपोहक्षमा

१४ यश्चालुक्यकुलालपालवल [य]ादुद्धृत्य[10] लक्ष्मीलता सिक्ता दन्तिमदाम्वुभिः[11] स्थिर
पदासक्तिं स्ववशेकरोत् । [९*]

१५ तस्मि[ा] दपालय दिमा वसुधा पितृ[व्य*]: श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुभ्रैः ।
यत्कारितेश्वरगृ-

१६ हैर्व्वसुमत्य [नेक]कैलासशैल [नि]चितेव चिर विभा [ति] ॥ [१०] गोविन्दराज
इति तस्य वभूव[12] [न]म्ना सू-

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

१७ नुस्स [भो] गभ [र]भंगुरराज्यचिन्तः । आत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य [स]म्य-
[क्स] [म्रा] ज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिली-

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1 Read गुणप्रिय° 2 Read परि° 3 Read शुद्ध

4 Read प्रावर्तत 5 कुल is corrected by the engraver from कुला

6 Read प्रथिता बभूवु 7 दन्ति is corrected by the engraver from दान्ति

8 Read चतुरम्बुधि° 9 Read क्षमाम् 10 Read °लवाल

11 Read °दाम्बुभि: 12 Read बभूव

१८ चकार ॥ [११*] [1]श्वे[त]ातपत्र[ि]तये[न्दु]ाबे [म्ब]र्लीले[द]याद्रेः[2] कलिवल्ल-
भाख्यात् । ततः कृताराितमदेभभंगो

१९ जातो जग[त्तुं] गमृगाधिराजः ॥ [१२] तत्सूनुरानतनृपो [नृ]पतुंगदेवः सो
भूत्स्वसैन्यभरभंगुरिताहिरा-

२० जः । यो मान्यखेटममरे[न्द्रपु] रोपहासि गर्व्वाणगर्व्वमिव खर्व्वयितुं[3] व्यधत्त
॥ [१३*] चालुक्यवंश दहनो[4] य-

२१ दीय[प्र]तापवह्नेरभिलब्धजन्मा[5] । ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदर— — — — नाद्यापि विश्रा-
न्तिमुपैति [शब्दः][6] ॥ [१४]

२२ त[स्यो] त्तर्जित[गू]र्ज्जरो हतहटलट ह्रट ीमदो गौडानां विनयव्रतार्प्पणगुरुः
सामुद्र(ा)निद्राहरः ।

२३ द्वारस्थांगकलिंगगांगमगधैरभ्यर्च्चिताज्ञश्चिरं सूनुस्सूनृतवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्ण-
राजोभ [वत्] ॥ [१५]

२४ अभू [ज्ज]ग्वत्तुंग[8] इति प्रसिद्धस्तदंगजः स्त्रीनयनामृतांशुः । [9]अलब्धराज्य. स
दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्या-[10]

२५ गनाप्रार्थनयेव[11] धात्रा ॥ [१६] तन्नन्दनः क्षितिमपालयदि[न्द्र]राजो य
द्रूपसंभवपराभवभीरुणे-

२६ व । मानातुरैव मदनेन पिनाकपाणिकोपाग्निना निजतनु कृपते[12] स्म
भस्म ॥ [१७] तस्माद[मोघ]वर्षो

२७ रो[द्र]धनुर्भ[ग]जनितवलमहिमा[13] । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्द्दशरथा-
[ज्ज]ातः ॥ [१८]

२८ क्षिप्रं दिवं पितुरिव प्रणया[द्र]तस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोककलमभृतः ।
राज्यं दधे मद[न]-

२९ सौख्यपिलास[कन्दो][14] गोविन्द[रा]ज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ [१९]
[सो]ऽयंगनानयनपाशनिरुद्धबु-[15]

३० द्धिरु[न्म]ार्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्व्वसत्व[:] । [दोष] (ा)प्रकोपाद्विषमप्रकृतिः[16] श्लथांगः
प्रापत्क्षयं

1 Read °पत्र; त्रितये° is corrected by the engraver from त्रितनेर °

2 Read श्चिम्य. 3 Read खर्व्वयितु 4 Read दहनो.

5 Read °लब्ध 6 Read ब्रह्माण्ड 7 Read शब्द.

8 Read °ज्जगत्तुङ्ग 9 Read अलब्ध 10 Read दिव्याङ्गना.

11 The न of °नयेव is entered below the line. 12 Read कृतिं

13 Read बल 14 Read विलास 15 Read बु.

16 Read निरम.

३१ सहजतेजसि जातजाड्ये ॥ [२०*] रामम [न्तै]रथ रट्टरा[ज्य]महिम लम्भार्थम-
भ्यर्थितो[1] देवेनापि पि-

३२ नाकिना हरिकुलोल्ल[सै]षितो[2] प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जग-
त्तुंग स्तजोमो-

३३ [3]घवाक्पेयूषाब्धिरमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ [२१*] धर्म्मे मनुस्समर
कर्म्मणि कार्त्त[वी]-

SECOND PLATE; SECOND SIDE.

३४ र्यो वीर्ये बलिर्ज्जनम[नो]हरणे दिलीप [॥] उच्चै[श्चिरन्त]नयशांसि हर
न्नपीत्थं वृद्धेषु नम्र

३५ च[रि]तो विनयेन [यो]भूत् । [२२*] श्रिभिन्न मुक्त[ता]राशेर्व[र्ण]ते[4] त
चित्रं युधि रिपुभिर[शे]षैर्व्वीक्षितो

३६ भज्यमानैः । वियति निकटवर्त्ती यस्य जातः सहायः प्रणतहरिविरिञ्चा
भ्यर्च्चित[श्च]न्द्रमौ[लि]ः[6] ॥ [२३*]

३७ श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिस्तस्मात्परमेश्वरादजनि [सू]नुः । यः शङ्करः स्वामी
कुम [र]भ वेव्यभू [द्र]-[7]

३८ वने ॥ [२४*] [र] महत[स]हस्रभुजो भुजद्वयाक[लि]तसमदरामेण (रामेण)
। [जननीपत्नी]गुरुरपि

३९ येन सह[स्रा]र्जुनो [विजि]तः ॥ [२५*] श्रीरट्टराज्यपुरवररक्षापरिखां मदेन
यस्या ज्ञां । विपुला विन्ध्य-

४० यन्तः स्वयमपत[न्] द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ [२६*] येन मधुकैटभाविव पुन
रुन्मग्नौ जनोपमर्दाय ।

४१ श्रीवल्लभेन [नि]हतौ भुवि द[न्ति]गराजगौ दु[ष्टौ] ॥ [२७*] र[छ्य]म
ल्लवि[षद्]मसुद[स्य] निहितेन येक-

४२ त सनाथा । भूतार्थपु[ण्य]तरुणा वाटीमिव गंगपाटीञ्च ॥ [२८*] परि
मलितापिणगपल्लवावेपात्ति-

४३ रासीच्च विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति [य] त्प्रतापे शोषितविद्वेषिगांगौघे
[२९*] यस्य पत्युक्षिताखिल-

४४ दक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूर्ज्जरहृदयात्क [लं] जरचित्रकूटाशा
[३०*] अनमन्ना पूर्व्वप-

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1 Read °भ्यार्थि° 2 Read °सैन्धेगा 3 Read °माक्षि°.
4 Read बालि° 5 Read गाशि° 6 Read मौलिः
7 Read °भावेव्यभु°,

४५ रजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलद्वीपात् । [यं] जनकाज्ञा [व र्ग]मपि मण्डलिनश्चण्ड-
दण्डभयात् ॥ [३१*] स्निग्ध[श्य]-

४६ मरुचा [1]प्रलम्बभुजया पीनायतोरस्कया मूर्त्या कीर्त्तिलताहितामृतजलैर्वृत्तैश्च
सत्वोद्भवैः ।

४७ ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरराहं विश्वम्भराभ्युद्धृतौ शा[न्ते ध]ा[म्नि] लयं
गतः प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृ

४८ तार्थः पिता । [३२*] [वृ]त्ते नृत्तसुरागने सरभसं दिव्यर्षिदत्ताशिषि[2]
श्रीकन्तस्य नितान्त[नो] षितह-

४९ [रे] रा[ज्य]ाभिषेकोत्सवे । [3]यस्मा[वद्धकरग्रहो य]मभवत्कम्पानुरागोदयाद्दिक्कन्याः
स्वसमर्प्पणा-

THIRD PLATE

५० थमभवल्ल[ग्न]ानुकूल्यप्रियाः ॥ [३३*]लुप्ताः केपि निजास्पदाद्गुणभृतः केचि-
त्प्रतिष्ठापिताः केप्य[न्ये]न्यविभेदतो

५१ [वि]रलिताः केचित्तु सं[श्लि]षिताः । येनात्यूर्ज्जितशब्दतन्त्रपतिना वर्ण्णा
इवोच्चावचां नीता [म]ण्डलिनो दशा समहतास्सि-

५२ द्धिं पद[स्थे] च्छता ॥ [३४*] कृत्वा दक्षिणदिग्जयोद्यतधिया चोलान्वयो-
न्मूलन तद्भूमिं [4]निजभृत्यभर्ग्गपरितश्चेरन्मरा-

५३ ण्ड्यादिकान् । येनो [च्चै] स्सह सिंहलेन करदान्सन्मण्डलाधीश्वरा [न्स्य] स्त
कीर्तिलतांकुरप्रतिकृतिस्तम्भश्च [रेमेश्वेर][6] [३५] [स च]

५४ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादा [नु] ध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजावि-

५५ राजपर [मे] श्व [र] श्रीमदकालवर्षदेव पृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमद्वल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली
सर्व्वानेव यथासम्वध्य-[7]

५६ मानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषय [प] तिग्रामकूटमहत्तरयुक्तकोपयुक्तकान्समादिशत्यस्तु व संवि-
दितं यथा शक [नृ] पका-

५७ ल[ा *] तीत [सं]वत्सरशतेष्वष्टस्व [शी] त्यधिकेषु कालयुक्तसंवत्सरान्तर्गतफ[ा]
ल्गुनवहुलत्र [यो] दस्या[8] बुध दक्षिणदि

५८ [ङ्म] ण्डलानि भृत्ये [भ्यो] र्जीवनं कर्त्तुं[9] मडलेश्वरसर्व्वस्वानि प्रातिग्रहीतुं[10] काल-
प्रियगण्डमार्तण्डकृष्णेश्वरा-

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1 Read प्रलम्ब | 2 Read °शिषि. | 3 Read यस्याबद्ध.
4 Read °शाब्द | 5 Read वर्ग | 6 Read रामेश्वरे.
7 Read °संबध्य° | 8 Read बहुलत्रयोदश्यां बुध

9 The anusvāra of कर्तुं runs into the घु which stands over it, read मण्डलेश्वर.

10 °प्रहीतुं is corrected by the engraver from °गृहीतुं

५९ या यतनानि निष्पादयितं मेल्पाटीसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयकटकेन मया कर-
हाटीयवल्कले-

६० [श्व] रस्थानपतिकरंजखेटसंततिविनिर्गतेशानशिवाचार्यशिष्याय[1] महातपस्विने सक-
शालि-

६१ [व] सिद्धान्तपारगाय गगनशिवाय (।) कार्त्तिक्या [म] कल्पित [स] कलतपो-
धन (या) सनाच्छ दनानिमित्तं कर-

६२ [2]हाटविषयप्रतिवद्धकल्हिद्र दशकान्तर्गतः कंकेनाम ग्रामः सवृक्षमालाकुलः
सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः

६३ सदण्डदोषदशापराधः सर्व्वोत्पत्तिसहित आचन्द्र र्क्कसमस्यो मया दत्तः ।
यस्य पूर्व्वतः कन्हवन्ना

६४ [नदी] [।*] दक्षिणतः [पेडु] रे । पश्चिमत' आडेनामा ग्रामः । उत्तरतः
सैव कन्हवन्ना नदी [।*] एवं चतुराघाटवि-

६५ शुद्धं [3]कंकेसंज्ञकं ग्र मं गगनशिवस्य कृषतः कर्षयतो भुंजतो भेजयतो
वा न केनचिद्वयाघातः का-

६६ र्यं । यश्च करोति पञ्चभिरपि महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तञ्च ॥
षष्टिवर्षस [ह] स्र [।] णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति

६७ भूमि [दः] । आच्छेत्ता चा [नु] [म] न्त [।] च तान्ये [व] नर [के] वसेत् ॥
[३६ ॥] सा [म] न्योयं धर्म [सेतु] र्नृपाणा काले काले [पा] ल [नी]-

६८ यो [भ] वद्भि । सर्व्वाने [व] भाविभ[4] पार्थिवे [न्द्र] म्भूयो[5] भूयो याचते राम-
भद्र ॥ [३७ ॥] यो [स्यगमेन] लिखितमिति [॥]

TRANSLATION

Om (Verse 1) Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of (Visnu) the enemy of Mura, which being placed on the jar-like breast and the face of Laksmi, that are marked by shining particles of nectar-water, the proclaimed entrance of the world on a joyous festival

(V. 2) And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of (Siva) the conqueror of the three cities (or of Tripura), which is adorned by the coloured figures impressed on it by (the close contact of) the cheeks of (Pārvatī) the daughter of the Mountain, and which thus bears, as it were, through regard for his beloved, an edict promising safety to the god of love

1 Read शिष्याय 2 Read °बद्ध 3 Read कंके.

4 Read भाविन 5 Read °न्भूयो

(V 3) There is (the Moon), the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of love, the lord of the night-lotuses, whose rays are full of nectar, whose thinness, produced by his having given up his body for gratification of all the gods, is his ornament, and a portion of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu (Śiva)— verily on account of his love for excellent qualities

(V 4) From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes,— like a stream of moonlight,— which extended the series of the joys of the world, as the other unfolds the series of night lotuses; which destroyed the darkness of sin, as the other destroys the darkness of night; which fulfilled all desires, as the other fills all quarters, and which had unblemished adherents as the other constitutes the bright half of a month [1]

(V 5) In that (race), which resembled the ocean of milk, arose the family of Yadu,—like a necklace of pearls, which, like it, had a matchless splendour, the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in the other is borne by a sapphire when it is put in; which possessed indelible virtues, as the other is firmly strung on a thread, [2] and which was the ornament of the earth

(V 6) In that (family) the eternal being (Krsna) became incarnate in order to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown turbulent; and princes of that family, whose fame and valour were pre-eminent, became known in the world as Tungas

(V 7) In that race was born Ratta, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who destroyed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies, and after him the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family became known in the world by the name of (his) son Rāṣṭrakūṭa

(Vv 8 and 9) From that (family) arose in this (world) Dantidurga, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who,

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1 The epithets here are used in two meanings, one of which is applicable to the race of the Moon, and the other to the moonlight

2 The epithets Adhigata-harinīlaprollasan-nāyaka-śrīh and Aśithila-guṇa-saṅgah have two meanings, one applicable to the family of Yadu, and the other to the necklace of pearls

having broken the uneven ground (or the strongholds) by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this (earth) a single field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries; who plucked out, from the surrounding water-basin in the shape of the Cālukya family, the creeper in the shape of supreme sovereignty, which has a glossy appearance, is shady on account of its thick foliage and charming, bears abundant fruit, and is able to remove the fatigue of men resorting to it, and planted it firmly in his own family by feeding it with the rut-water of his elephants

(V 10) After him, (his) paternal uncle, the prosperous king Krsnarāja, protected this earth,— he who constructed temples of Īsvara (Siva), white as clouds in autumn, by which the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains

(V 11) He had a son of the name of Govindarāja Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose

(V 12) From him who was (also) called Kalivallabha, and who was an artificial hill on which rose the moon in the shape of the triad[1] of white parasols, was born Jagattunga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies

(Vv 13 and 14) His son, to whom kings bowed, and who oppressed the king of serpents by the mass of his army, was that Nrpatungadeva who founded Mānyakheta, which derided the city of the Indra of the gods, in order to humble, as it were, the pride of the gods, and the sound arising from the fire of whose prowess, when it burnt the Cālukya race, [filling] the interior of the vessel in the shape of the universe, has not yet ceased

(V 15) His son, the prosperous Krsnarāja, became for a long time the lord of the earth,— he who spoke pleasant words, who terrified the Gūrjara, who destroyed the egregious pride, generated by prosperity, of the arrogant Lāta, who was the preceptor charging the Gaudas with the vow of humility, who deprived the people on the sea-coast (Sāmudra) of their sleep,

1 Compare Ep Ind., Vol III, p. 17, note 5 [This Note is by the Editor of the Epi. Ind —N. B U]

and whose command was honoured (i e obeyed) by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Gānga and the Magadha, waiting at his gate.

(V 16) He had a son known as Jagattunga, a moon to the eyes of women He was taken to heaven by the Creator without obtaining the kingdom, as if at the request of the heavenly nymphs

(V 17) Indrarāja, his son, protected the earth It was from fear, as it were, of the indignity likely to be caused (in future) by his beauty, that the god of love, even before, had his body reduced to ashes through pride by means of the fire of the wrath of (Śiva), the wielder of the Pināka

(V 18) From him was born Amoghavarṣa,— as Rāma was from Dasaratha,— the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow,[1] as that of the other by the breaking of the bow of Rudra,[2] and who (like the other) was a great store-house of beauty

(V 19) He having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of Govindarāja, ruled the kingdom

(V 20.) He, too, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent as the subjects were discontented on account of the aggravation of the vices,[3] and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction

(V 21) Then king Amoghavarsa, the son of Jagattunga, the first among the wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words

1 This may refer to a war with the Cera king, whose crest was a bow, compare South Indian Inscriptions, Vol II, p 92, note 5, and Ind Ant, Vol XVI, p 332 [Note by the Editor of the Epi Ind —N B U]

2 Raudra-dhanur-bhanga has two meanings

3 The epithet Dosaprakopa etc has two meanings, one physical and the other political So also Tejas in Sahaja-tejasi has to be taken in two meanings

was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas, and also prompted by the god (Śiva), the wielder of the Pināka, who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Kṛṣṇa), ascended the glorious throne of heroes

(V 22.) In righteousness he was a Manu, in battle a Kārtavīrya, in valour a Bali, in attracting the hearts of men a Dilīpa; though he thus acquired pre-eminent and permanent fame, his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty

(V 23.) How possibly can the store of his merits be extolled when— O wonder! the moon-crested (Śiva), bowed down to and worshipped by Hari (Viṣṇu) and Viriñca (Brahmā), was, in battle, seen by all his flying enemies to be near him in the sky, and to assist him?

(V. 24) From that sovereign lord, as from Parameśvara (Śiva), was born a son, the prosperous king Kṛṣṇarāja, who, though a prince (i e, not a crowned king), exercised power in the world and was the lord, as the other was Kumāra, Śaktidhara and Svāmin [1]

(V 25.) He conquered Sahasrārjuna, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife,— (Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i e. Paraśurāma) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (only verbally) put down by him (viz Kṛṣṇarāja) by means of his two hands, he having held intoxicated young women (rāmā) with his two hands.[2]

(V 26) His enemies, madly transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the prosperous Raṭṭas, fell down themselves.

(V. 27.) He, Śrīvallabha, killed the wicked Dantiga and Vappuga, who seemed to be (the two demons) Madhu and Kaiṭabha, risen again on earth to torment men

1 These are three of the names of the god Kārttikeya. The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

2 Bhujadvayākalita etc is to be interpreted in two ways.

(V 28) He planted in Gangapāṭi, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree Rachyāmalla.

(V 29) While his prowess, which destroyed numbers of Gāngas, his enemies, as the heat dries up the stream of the Gangā, was glowing, it is no matter for wonder that the Pallava (king) Anniga was beaten and reduced to a sad condition, as it is no wonder that fragrant leaves are withered (by heat)[1]

(V 30) On hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the Southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gūrjara

(V 31) (All) the feudatories from the Eastern to the Western ocean and from the Himālaya to the island of Siṁhala bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment, though he himself was obedient (i e subordinate) to his father

(V 32) By his body which had a dark, glossy colour, long arms, and a broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Viṣṇu), able to deliver the earth (or to uplift the submerged earth),-- his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode

(V 33) When the festival of the coronation of this beloved of Prosperity, who had greatly propitiated Hari (Viṣṇu), at which celestial nymphs danced and heavenly Ṛṣis pronounced benedictions, had taken place amidst joy, the quarters which began to tremble and to be submissive on account of his preparation to exact tribute, as girls would have manifested tremor and affection at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as the others would have been dear to him in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving away themselves[2]

1 There is a play here on the words Pratāpa, Parimalita, Gānga and Pallava.

2 The second half of this verse has a double meaning.

(V. 34) He, a powerful master of the science of politics, desirous of obtaining a lofty position, deprived some of his subordinate chiefs of their places and established others who were deserving, separated some from each other by producing disunion and united others, and thus arranged them in a high or low position; as a proficient master of the science of words, (i e grammar), desirous of making up a long form, drops some letters from their position and introduces others in their Guna form, separates some on account of their dissimilarity and unites others, and places them in order, above or below

(V 35) Having, with the intention of subduing the Southern region, uprooted the race of the Colas, given their land to his own dependents, and made the lords of great countries, viz, the Ceranma,[1] the Pāndya and others, along with the Simhala, his tributaries, he erected a high column at Rāmeśvara, which was the image (as it were) of the sprout of the creeper in the shape of his glory

(Line 53) And he, the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the prosperous Akālavarsadeva Prthvīvallabha, the prosperous Vallabhanarendradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara, the prosperous Amoghavarsadeva,— being well, commands all the governors of districts and heads of sub-divisions, chiefs of villages, leading persons, officers and employees, so far as they may be concerned with these presents —

(L 56) " Be it known to you that, while my glorious and victorious army is encamped at Melpāti for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the Southern region for my dependents, of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces, and of erecting temples of Kālapriya, Gandamārtanda, Krsnesvara, etc , eight hundred and eighty years of the era of the Śaka king having elapsed, on Wednesday, the thirteenth Tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna of the (cyclic) year Kālayukta,— I have granted the village named Kankem, one of

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1 This seems to be a Sanskritised form of the Tamil Śeramān, ' the Chera king ' [This note is by the Editor of the Epi. Ind.—N B. U.]

the Kalli group of twelve (villages), situaed in the district (Visaya) of Karahāta, along with the rows of trees in it, the assessment in grain and gold, the flaws in measurement, the inflictions of fate, and all the produce, to Gaganaśiva, a great ascetic, versed in all Siva-sidhāntas, the pupil of the preceptor Īśānaśiva, who is the head of the establishment of Valkalesvara in Karahāta and is an emigrant from the Karañjakhēta group (of villages),[1] for the purpose of providing seats and clothes to all ascetics, as promised on the Kārttikī (i e the full-moon Tithi of Kārttika),— (the grant) to be respected (i e not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure "

(L 63) To the east of this (village) is the river Kanhavannnā ; to the south, (the village of) [Pendu]reṁ ; to the west, the village named Ādhem ; to the north, that same river Kanhavannā No one should cause obstruction to Gaganaśiva while he cultivates the village named Kankem, defined by these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed And he who causes (obstruction), will incur all the five great sins ; for it is said —

(V 36) " He who grants land, dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years ; (but) he who takes it away and he who abets the act, dwell as long in hell "

(V 37.) " Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, which is common to all kings "

(L 68.) Engraved by Yo[syagma]

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1 Or perhaps— [' a descendant of the (spiritual) lineage of (the Maṭha at) Karañjaketa ' This note is by the Editor of the Epi Ind.—N. B U]

A TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE DEOLI PLATES OF THE RĀSTRAKŪTA KING KRSNA III.

(A Paper on this and two other Inscriptions—one of these latter on Navasari copper-plates, marked A and B, and the other on a Kalacuri copper-plate grant from the Belgaum District, i e, in all, on three Inscriptions, was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 30th July 1892. The three papers are here separately given)—N B U

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890–94, pp 239ff]

The copper-plates, a transcript and translation of the Inscription on which, I have placed before the Society to-day, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles South-west of Wardha near Nagpur Excellent impressions of the tablets were prepared by Dr MacDonald, Superintendent of the Central Jail, Nagpur, and forwarded to the Society for being deciphered, by Mr. T. Drysdale, Deputy Commissioner of Wardha The Secretary sent the impressions to me I read them and communicated the contents to the Secretary, requesting him at the same time to ask the Deputy Commissioner to send over the original plates to us, as the impression was indistinct in a few places. These were kindly forwarded to us by that officer

The plates are three in number, each being a foot in length and eight inches in breadth The Inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second, and on one side of the third The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter, the work is negligently done. The seal bears a figure of Śiva

The Inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village named Tālapurumśaka, situated in the district of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, to a Brahman named Rsiyappa or Ṛsiyapayya of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kanva, and Kata, and of the Bhāradvāja Gotra. The grant was made by Krsṇa or Akālavarsa of the

Rāstrakūta family in the name of his brother Jagattunga, while living at his capital Mānyakheta, in the year 862 expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940 A D, on the 5th of the dark half of Vaisākha, the cyclic year being Śārvari

The genealogy of Krsnarāja is thus given .—

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1 Dantidurga.          2 Krsnarāja. I
                            |
          3 Govinda.            4 Nirupama or Kalivallabha.
                                   |
                                5 Jagattunga.
                                   |
                                6 Nrpatunga.
                                   |
                                7 Krsnarāja. II
                                   |
                                Jagattunga ( died before his father ).

                 8 Indrarāja                    11 Amoghavarsa.
                     |                               |
9 Amoghavarsa      10 Govindarāja              12 Krsnarāja. III
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This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Rāstrakūtās In the first place, the Rāstrakūta family is said to have sprung from the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race The genealogy begins with Dantidurga, as it was he, who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahārāstra or Deccan, the limits of which were the Narmadā on the North and the Tungabhadrā in the South He was succeeded by his paternal uncle Krsnarāja who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Siva which looked like the Kailāsa mountain I have shown in my Early History of the Deccan that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Krsnarāja ; and my view, that it was probably that known by the name of Kailāsa which he constructed, seems to be confirmed by the comparison with the Kailāsa contained in this grant

The circumstances under which Dhruva-Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda are distinctly given Sensual pleasures made Govinda careless of the kingdom, and entrusting the affairs of the state to his brother, he allowed the sovereign power to drop

away from his hands Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III or Jagattunga.

His son, known as Amoghavarsa, the great patron of the Digambara Jainas, is called Nrpatunga, which name is found in a Jaina work also The city of Mānyakheta, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him

His son, Kisnarāja, who is also known by the name of Akālavarsa, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him He frightened the Gūrjara, destroyed the egregious pride of the Lāta, taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Āndhra, the Kalinga, the Gānga, and the Magadha As this Krsnarāja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the princes, this account may be relied on as true Akālavarsa is represented as a powerful prince in the Prasasti at the end of the Uttara Purāna of the Jainas also The Lāta prince alluded to seems to have belonged to the Gujarat branch of the Rāstrakūta family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III or Jagattunga, who assigned the province of Lāta, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra Akālavarsa, the grandson of Jagattunga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lāta country

Jagattunga was the name of Akālavarsa's son, and from the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants, he was supposed to have been a reigning prince, and following others, I have stated in the English edition of my Early History of the Deccan that he became king after his father But from a number of circumstances, it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of my work, I have corrected the statement This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us, in which he is represented to have been "taken away by the Creator to Heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels" who had heard of his beauty Akālavarsa was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra, the son of Jagattunga.

There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince named Amoghavarsa, who was the son of Indra He is not mentioned by name or as a king, in the Sangli grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Kharepatan grant; while in the third and only other grant, which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda altogether, and regard Amoghavarsa as the only prince But the grant before us clears the difficulty Amoghavarsa is there spoken of as "having immediately gone to Heaven as if through affection for his father" He reigned therefore for a very short time, perhaps for a few months or even days, and hence is not noticed in the Sangli grant.

The next prince, Govinda, is of course highly praised in his Sangli grant. But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses The Kharepatan grant agrees with it speaking of him as "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and as surrounded by women" Our grant agrees also with that found at Kharepatan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince

His name was Amoghavarsa, and he was the son of Jagattunga and consequently the uncle of Govinda. He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Rāstrakūtas The Kharepatan grant gives his proper name which was Baddiga He was assisted in the Government of the kingdom by his son Krsna who was engaged in wars with his neighbours, and subjugated Dantiga, who probably was the rular of Kāñcī, and and Bappuka He up-rooted Rachyāmalla and placed on the throne in the Gānga country (Gāngavatī i e., Gangevādi) a prince of the name of Bhūtārya In an Inscription at Atakur noticed by Mr Rice[1] and recently published by Dr Fleet,[2] one Butuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Rācamalla and to have made himself master of the Gānga country Būtuga

1 Śrāvana Belgola Inscriptions, p 21

2 Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II, Part XI, p 173.

assisted Kannaradeva, i e, Krsna III, who is mentioned at the beginning of the Inscription, in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola king, and received a reward from him Būtuga is elsewhere called Būtayya,[1] and our Bhūtārya is a Sanskritised form of this, while our Rachyāmalla is clearly the Rācamalla of the Atakur Inscription But in the latter, Krsna's connection with the destruction of Rācamalla, and the rise of Būtayya, is not mentioned The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner But there can be no question that Būtayya was assisted by Krsna and owed his elevation to him, since in the fight with Rājāditya, Būtayya acted as if he was his feudatory, and received a reward as from a master. The Pallava that Krsna is mentioned to have subdued, was probably the same as Dantiga, and Bappuka was perhaps another name of Rājāditya the Cola

On the death of Amoghavarsa, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Krsnarāja ascended the throne He was called Akālavarsa also, as another prince of this dynasty bearing the name Krsna was Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Krsna is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarsa, and another Krsna is brought in, who is identified with one of his younger sons, who never reigned, but is represented to have reigned and is called Krsna IV In my Early History of the Deccan, I have given the true sense of the passage and shewn the mistakes The Kharepatan grant, which gives the true relationship, and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded. But now this grant confirms the account in the Kharepatan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarsa had no brother of the name of Krsna who could have preceded or succeeded him, and that the King who preceded him, was his nephew Govinda IV, and the Krsna, who succeeded him, was his son There was no other Krsna who followed this last and could be called Krsna IV according to any of our authorities.[2]

1 Ind Ant., Vol XII, p 270

2 My correction of the mistake about the two Krsnas was not noticed till very recently, though it was made more than eight years ago. For the

Jagattunga, the brother of Krsnarāja in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him; for the latter was succeeded by Kottiga, who appears to have been Krsnarāja's *step-brother according to the* Karda grant; and he was followed by the son of his brother Nirupama.

Jagattunga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers, do.

The name of the grantee ends in Appa or Apayya which shows that he was a Tailanga Brahman He belonged to the Kānva school of the White Yajurveda, and even at the present day, there are the followers of that school near Nagpur. The village Tālapurumsaka, which was granted, was bounded on the East by another of the name of Mādāvatatara, on the South by the river Kandanā, on the West by the village of Mohama or Mohamagrāma, and on the North by Badhrīra Of these, Kandanā is the river Kanhana, which has a course from the North-west of Nagpur to the South-east; Mohama or Mohamagrāma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chindwada District Badhrīra is Berdi in the vicinity of that town Nothing corresponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them.

TRANSCRIPT

I

स जयति ज(?)गदुत्सवप्रवशप्रथनपरः करपल्लवो मुरारेः । लसदमृतपयः क-
णाकलक्ष्मीस्तनकलशाननलब्धसंनिवेशः ॥ जयति च गिरिजाकपोलबिम्बादधिगतप-
त्त्रविचित्रितासभित्तिः । त्रिपुरविजयिनः प्रियोपरोधद्रुतमदनाभयदानशासनेव ॥
श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तलैकतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो मन्मथबान्धवः कुमुदिनीनाथस्सु-
धादीधितिः । निःशेषामरतर्प्पणार्प्पिततनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृतेर्यस्याशः शिरसा गुणप्रियतया
नूनं धृतःसं(शं)भुना ॥ तस्माद्विकासनपरः कुमुदावलीनां दोषाधकारदलनः परिपूरिताशः । ज्यो-

Atakur Inscription noticed above, is, on the wrapper of Part X of the Epigraphica Indica, issued in August last, referred to "the time of Krsna IV" I am, however, glad to see it has since attracted attention and the mistake has come to be tacitly acknowledged as such For in Part XI of the same periodical issued in September last, i. e. only a month later, that same Inscription is published as "Atakur *Inscription of the* time of Krsna III"

स्त्नाप्रवाह इव दर्शितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्त्तत क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥ अभवदतुल-
कान्तिस्तत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुवंशो दुग्धसिन्धूयमाने । अधिगतहरिनीलप्रो-
ल्लसन्नायकश्रीरशिथिलगुणसंगो भूषणं यो भुवोभूत् ॥ उद्वृत्तदैत्यकुलकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्तत्रा-
वतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सात्यकिवर्गभाजस्तुंगा इति क्षितिभुजः प्रथिता
बभूवुः ॥ क्षितितलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्षतरिपुदन्तिघटोजनिष्ट रट्टः । तमनु च सुतराष्ट्रकूट-
नाम्ना भुवि विदितोजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः ॥ तस्मादरातिवनिताकुचचारुहारनीहारभानुरुदगा-
दिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं चकार चतुरब्ध्युपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्रं य एतदसिलागलभिन्नदुर्गः ॥ तस्मा-
दपालयदिमां वसुधां पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुभ्रैः । यत्कारितेश्वरगृहैर्व्वसु-
मत्यनेककैलासशैलनिचितेव चिरं विभाति ॥ गोविन्दराज इति तस्य बभूव नाम्ना सूनुस्स भो-

II first side

गभरभङ्गुरराज्यचिन्तः । आत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य सम्यक्साम्राज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीच-
कार ॥ श्वे-
तातपत्रत्रितयेन्दुबिम्बलीलोदयाद्रेः कलिवल्लभाख्यात् । ततः स्फुतरातिमदेभभंगो जातो
जगत्तुंग-
मृगाधिराजः ॥ तत्सूनुराननृपो नृपतुंगदेवः सोभूत्स्वसैन्यभरभंगुरिताहिराजः । यो मान्यखे-
टममरेन्द्रपुरोपहासि गीर्व्वाणगर्व्वमिव खर्व्वयितुं व्यधत्त ॥ तस्यात्तर्जितगूर्ज्जरो हृतहटल्लाटो-
द्भटश्रीमदो गौडानां विनयव्रतार्प्पणगुरुस्सामुद्रनिद्राहरः । द्वारस्थाध्रकलिंगगांगमगधै-
रभ्यर्च्चि[र्च्चि]ताज्ञश्चिरं सूनुस्सूनृतवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ अभूज्जगत्तुंग इति प्रसि-
द्धस्तदंगजः स्त्रीनयनामृतांशुः । अलब्धराज्यः स दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्यांगनाप्रार्थनयेव धात्रा । त-
न्नंदनः क्षितिमपालयदिन्द्रराजोयद्रूपसम्भवपराभवभीरुणेव । मानात्पुरे-
व मदनेन पिनाकपाणिकोपाग्निना निजतनुः कृ(क्रि)यते स्म भस्म ॥ तस्मादमोघवर्वो(र्षो)
रौद्रधनुर्भंगजनितबलमहिमा । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्द्दशरथाज्जातः ॥ क्षिप्रं दि-
वं पितुरिव प्रणयाद्गतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । राज्यं दधे मदनसौख्य-
विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ सोप्यंगनानयनपाशनिरुद्धबुद्धिरुन्मा-
र्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्व्वसत्त्वः । दोषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृतिश्लथागः प्राप्तक्षयं सहजतेज-
सि जातजाड्ये ॥ सामन्तैरथ रट्टराज्यमहिमालम्बार्थमभ्यर्थितो देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-
लोल्लासैषिणा प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जगत्तुंगात्मजोमोघवाक्पेयूषाब्धि-

II second side

रमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ श्रीकृष्णराजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेश्वरादजनि सूनुः ।
यः शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभावेप्यभूद्भुवने ॥ श्रीरट्टराज्यपुरवररक्षापरिखं(खां) मदेन य-
स्याज्ञां । विपुलां विलंघयन्तः स्वयमपत्तं(तन्) द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ येन मधुकैटभाविव पुनरुन्म-
त्तौ जनोपमर्द्दाय । श्रीवल्लभेन निहतौ भुवि दन्तिगवप्पुकौ दृप्तौ ॥ रक्ष्यामल्लविषद्रुममद-

स्य निहितेन येकृत सनाथां । भूनायपुण्यतरुणा वाटीमिव गागपाटीरे ॥ परिमलिवा(ता ?)ण्ठि-
गपल्लवविपत्तिरासीन्न विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति यत्प्रतापे शोषितविद्वेषिगागोघेव यस्य
परुषेक्षिताखिलदक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूर्जरहृदयात्कालंज-
रचित्रकूटाशा ॥ अनमन्नापूर्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलद्वीपान् । यं जन-
काज्ञावशमपि मण्डलिनश्चण्डदण्डभथा(य)त(न्) ॥ स्निग्धश्यामरुचा प्रलम्बभुजा(ज)या
पनियतोरस्कया
मूर्त्य (र्त्या) कीर्त्तिलताहितामृतजलैर्वृतैश्च सत्त्वोद्रवैः । ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरसहं विश्वं
(श्वं)भरा-
भ्युद्धृतौ शान्ते धाम्नि लयं गत(ः) प्रशमिनामग्र्यः कृतार्थः पिता । वृत्ते नृत्तसुरागने सरभसं
दिव्यर्षिदत्ताशिषि श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्तभावितहरे राज्याभिषेकोत्सवे । यस्यावद्धकरग्रहोद्य-
मभवत्कंपानुरागोदया (ऽ)क्रान्त्याः स्वसमर्पणार्थमभवल्लग्नानुक(कू)न्यप्रियाः ॥ स च परम-
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादानुद्ध्या(ध्या)तपरमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीष(श)र्व-
प्रेय(प्रिय?)नरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वाके(ने)व स्वजानपदान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-

III

[खे] टराजधानीस्थितेन शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु द्विषष्ट्यधिकेषु शार्व्वरिसं-
वत्सरान्तर्गतवैशाखबहुलपञ्च(श्च)म्या मम प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियतमस्य कनीयसो भ्रातुः श्रीम-
ज्जगत्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ अपि च ॥ ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि कुर्व्वता निरुपमा भक्ति जिता
लक्ष्मणः सौन्दर्येण मनोभवः सुचरितैरामस्स धर्म्मात्मज (ः) । कान्त्या शीतरुचिश्च येन
सततं शौर्य्ये-
ण सिंहो जगत्तुगस्यास्त्वभिवाञ्छितप्रदमिदं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥ अनेनाभिसंधिना मया नन्दि-
वर्द्धनविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजिकाण्वकता(कात्य ?)सब्रह्मचारिभाइल्लसुतवेदवेदाग-
पारगारिलि(षि)यप्पाय नागपुरनन्दिवर्द्धनान्तर्गततालपुरुषंकनामा ग्रामः सोद्रंगः स-
परिकरः सधान्यहिरण्यदेयः सदण्डदोषदशापराधः सर्व्वोत्पत्तिसहितः
पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुःसीमपर्यन्तः । ब्रह्मदायन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कसमस्यो दत्तः । य-
स्य पूर्वतः मादावटटरनामा ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः कन्हना नदी । पश्चिमतः मोहमग्रामः । उ-
त्तरतः बधीरग्राम एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं तालपुरुषंकं रिषियपस्यस्य कृषतः कर्षयतो
भुंजतो भोजयतो वा न केनचिद्व्याघातः कार्यः । यश्च व्याघातं करोति स पञ्च(श्च)भिरपि
महा-
पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यात् ॥ अन्यच्च (?) ॥ स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्टायां
कृमि-
र्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । स-

सामेवं भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ चेवानन्देरस्य भ्रात्रा योगाख्येन लिखितमिति ॥

TRANSLATION

Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of the enemy of Mura (Visnu) which, being placed on the jar-like breasts of Laksmī marked by particles of nectar-water, and on her face, proclaimed the entrance of the world on a joyous festival And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of the conqueror of the three cities or of Tripura (Śiva), which is adorned by the colored figures impressed on it by the [close contact of the] cheeks of the daughter of the Mountain (Pārvatī), and which thus bears as it were, through a regard for his beloved, an edict promising safety to the god of Love. There is the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of Love, the lord of the night-lotus plants, whose rays are full of nectar, whose diminished form, owing to his having given up his body for the gratification of the gods, is his ornament, and a part of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu—verily on account of his love for virtues From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes like a stream of moonlight, which extended the series of the joys of the world as that blows open the series of night-lotuses, which destroyed the darkness of sin as that destroys the darkness of night, which spread in all quarters (as that does), and which had unblemished adherents as that constituted the light half of a month [1] From that race which was like an ocean of milk, arose the family of Yadu, like a necklace of pearls, which like it had a matchless splendour, the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in that is borne by a sapphire when it is put in, which had indelible virtues, as that is firmly interwoven with a string,[2] and which was the ornament of the world In that family, the eternal Being became incarnate to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown tumultuous , and members of

1 The epithets here are used in two senses, one of which is applicable to the family of the moon and the other to the moonlight

2 The epithets अधिगतहरिनीलप्रालमन्नायकश्री and अशिथिलगुणसग have two senses, one applicable to the family of Yadu and the other to the necklace of pearls.

that family belonging to the Sātyakin clan became celebrated princes, because they were great From that race sprang Ratta, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who killed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies ; after him the Rāstrakūta family became known in the world by the name of [his] son Rāstrakūta. From that [family] arose Dantidurgga, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who having broken the unevennesses by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this one field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries After him, his paternal uncle, King Krsnarāja, protected this earth, by the temples of Iśvara (Śiva) constructed by whom, the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains. He had a son of the name of Govindarāja Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, and entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose From him who was called Kalivallabha, and who was the sportive rising mount of the moon in the shape of the triad of the white umbrellas, was born Jagattunga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies His son, to whom kings bowed, and who tortured the king of serpents by the heavy mass of his army, was that lord Nrpatunga who founded Mānyakheta which laughed down [to scorn] the city of the Indra of the gods, in order as it were to humble the pride of the gods His son, the prosperous Krsnarāja, became for a long time the lord of the earth, who spoke pleasant words, frightened the Gūrjjara, destroyed the egregious pride generated by prosperity of the arrogant Lāta [king], was the preceptor who charged the Gaudas with the vow of humility, and deprived the people on the sea coast of their sleep, and whose command was honoured (obeyed) by the Āndhra, the Kalinga, the Gānga, and the Magadha waiting at his gate He had a son, known as Jagattunga, who was a nectar-rayed [moon] to the eyes of women. He was taken to heaven by the Creator without his having got the Kingdom, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels. Indrarāja his son protected the earth; it was from a fear as it were of the indignity likely to be caused [in future] by his beauty that the god of Love, even before, reduced his body to

ashes through pride, by means of the fire of the wrath of the wielder of the Pināka (Śiva) From him was born Amoghavarsa, as Rāma was from Dasaratha, the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow of Rudra[1] and who (like him) was the great store-house of beauty He having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of Govindarāja, ruled the kingdom. And he, too, with his intelligence fettered by the chains of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses, and his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the [political] body becoming non-coherent, as the subjects were discontented through the aggravation of the vices,[2] and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction Then the king Amoghavarsa, son of Jagattunga, the first among the thoughtful or wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas and also prompted by the god, the wielder of the Pināka (Siva), who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Krsna), ascended the throne of heroes From that sovereign lord was born a son, the king Krsnarāja, who, though a boy, exercised power in the world and was the lord, and was verily Kumāra, Śaktidhara, and Svāmin[3] His enemies transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the Rattas, themselves fell down He, Srī-Vallabha, killed on this earth the wicked Dantiga and Bappka, who were as it were Madhu and Kaitabha, again grown insolent for the torment of men He planted as it were in a garden in the field of the Gāngas the holy tree of Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree of Rachyāmalla While his

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1 रौद्रधनुर्भंग has two senses

2 The epithet दोषप्रकोप &c, has two senses, one physical and the other political So also तेजस् in सहजतेजसि is to be taken in two senses, one fitting with the physical interpretation and the other with the politi[c]al

3 These are three of the names of the god Kārtikeya The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

prowess, which was like heat and which destroyed numbers of Gāngas his enemies, as that (heat) dries up the stream of the Gangas, was glowing, what wonder is there if the Pallava Anthiga (Dantiga ?) who was beaten, was reduced to a sad condition as fragrant leaves are by heat[1] ? On hearing of the conquest of the strongholds in the South simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūta dropped away from the heart of the Gūrjjara All the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himālaya to the island of Simhala bowed to him from the fear of being severely punished, though he himself was obedient to his father By his bodily form, which had a dark glossy colour, long arms, and broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds, which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Visnu) to deliver the earth (or bring out the submerged earth), his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode When the festival consequent on the coronation of the beloved of Śrī (prosperity), who had greatly frightened Hari (husband of Srī), in which celestial damsels danced, and the heavenly Rsis pronounced their benedictions, was over, the quarters as girls, which began to tremble at his preparation to exact tribute, as those should manifest love and tremor at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as those should be dear in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving themselves[2]

He, the King Akālavarsadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, a great devotee of Mahesvara, Prthvīvallabha, the favourite of Śarva (Siva), who meditated on the feet of the prosperous Amoghavarsadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, being well, commands the men of his country "Be it known to you, that for the enhancement of the holy fame of my younger brother, Jagattungadeva, who is dearer to me even than

1 There is a play here on the words "Gānga" and "Pallava"

2 Two senses here throughout.

my life, I have, living in the capital Mānyakheṭa, granted on the fifth of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the year Śārvari, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, with the feeling that this grant of land may fulfil the wishes of Jagattunga, as if it were his, —Jagattunga, who has surpassed Lakṣmaṇa, by serving his eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of Love by his beauty, and Rāma (and) the son of Dharma by his good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by his lustre, and the lion by his bravery—to Risiyappa, originally living in Nandivardhana, belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, student of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kanva, and Kata, the son of Bhāilla, and conversant with the Vedas and the subsidiary treatises, the village of Tālapuruṃsaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside and the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain and gold, with the flaws in the measurment (measuring rod), and mishaps (due to fortune),[1] with all its produce, up to its four previously known boundaries, and to be respected as long as the Sun and the Moon last, in the manner of a Brahman-gift To the east of it is a village of the name of Mādāvaṭatara, to the south, the river Kandanā, to the west the village Mohama [and] to the north the village of Badhrīra No one should obstruct Risiyapayya while he cultivates Tālapuruṃsaka, having these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed, and he who will obstruct will incur the five great sins Moreover —' He who takes away the land that has been given away by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure, and wallows there along with his ancestors Rāmabhadra again and again entreats future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, which is common to all kings' " Engraved by Yograśtya, the brother of Cevānanvera

1 This, I think, is the proper translation of the phrase सदण्डदशापराध or स दण्डदशापराध, which occurs almost in all grants, but the correct or appropriate sense of which, does not seem to have been yet found out. By inserting this expression, the grantor absolves himself from all responsibility about loss consequent upon a mistake in the measurement and upon changes due to adverse natural occurrences or the "doings of God" as they are called.

A Revised Transcript and Translation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Deoli Plates of Kṛṣṇa III of Śaka-Saṁvat 862

[From the Epigraphia Indica, Volume V, 1898-99, pp 188ff]

The copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which are given below, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles south-west of Wardha near Nagpur. They were first published by me in Vol XVIII of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society [1] The Editor of the Epigraphia Indica having procured the original plates from the Secretary of the Society and having got a new facsimile prepared, I now publish a revised edition of my paper on those plates

The plates are three in number, each being about one foot in length and about eight inches in breadth The Inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second and on one side of the third The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter the work is negligently done, and in consequence several letters look alike The seal bears a figure of Śiva [2]

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1 This paper is printed here immediately before the present article [N B U]

2 *Dr Gerson da Cunha was good enough to send me the plates and seal for* examination. The seal is soldered on the two ends of a copper ring, which is 4¼″ in diameter and about ½″ thick The ring had been already cut when I received the plates. The seal is of square shape, like that of the Karda plates of Kakka II (Ind Ant, Vol XII, p, 263). It measures 2 3/4″ both ways and bears, in relief, a seated figure of Śiva which faces the front and holds a snake in each hand On Śiva's proper right are, from top to bottom, an image of Gaṇapati, a Cauri and a lamp, and on his proper left the goddess Pārvatī riding on a lion, and below her a Svastika At the base of the figure is inscribed the legend Śrīmato 'rthadasya, in which Arthada, 'the giver of wealth,' must be taken as a synonym of Akālavarsa, which was a Biruda of Kṛṣṇa III Along the margin of the seal passes a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a Liṅga and an elephant-goad are recognisable.—This note is by the Editor of the Epigraphia Indica. [N B U.]

The inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village, named Tālapurumsaka (11 53 and 57) and situated in the district of Nagapura-Nandivardhan[1] to a Brahman named Risiappa or Risiyapayya (11 53 and 57), of the Vedic schools of Vājin and Kānva and of the Bhāradvāja Gōtra The grant was made by Krsna III, or Akālavarsa of the Rāstrakūta family in the name of his brother Jagattunga (II. 48 f and 51), while staying at his capital Mānyakheta (1 46 f), in the year 862, expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940-41 A D, on the 5th Tithi of the dark half of Vaiśākha, the cyclic year being Sārvarin (1 47 f)

The genealogy of Krsna III. is thus given.—

. . . . . — 2. Krṣnarāja

. . . . .
- 1 Dantidurga.

2. Krṣnarāja
- 3 Govindarāja.
- 4 Nirupama or Kalivallabha.
  - 5. Jagattuṅga.
    - 6 Nṛpatunga.
      - 7 Krsnarāja
        - Jagattunga.
          - 8 Indrarāja
            - 9 Amoghavarsa
            - 10 Govindarāja.
          - 11. Amoghavarsa.
            - 12 Kṛsnarāja.

This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Rāstrakūtas In the first place, the Rāstrakūta family is said to have sprung from the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race and to be known by the name of Tunga (verse 6). The genealogy begins with Dantidurga (v 8), as it was he who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahārāstra or the Deccan, the limits of which were the Narmadā in the North and the Tungabhadrā in the South He was succeeded by his

1 It deserves to be noted that the names of the village granted and of its boundaries and district, as well as those of the donee and of his father, Śākhā, Gotra and native village, are engraved on erasures Hence the names of the four boundaries of Tālapurumsaka are difficult to read and uncertain.—This Note is by the Editor of the Epigraphia Indica. [N. B. U]

paternal uncle Krsna I, who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva, which looked like the Kailāsa mountain (v 9) I have shown in my Early History of the Deccan that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Krsnarāja, and have said that it was *perhaps* the Kailāsa itself I shoud have said that it could be no other than the Kailāsa For, if the demigods saw it while moving in the sky in their aerial cars, and were struck with its beauty, as stated in the Baroda Inscription, the temple must have had a carved exterior, i e, it must have been a temple entirely cut out from the rock,and not a mere cave temple without an architectural exterior There is one such only at Ellora, and that is the Kailāsa The comparison, made in the present grant, of the temples constructed by Krsnarāja with Kailāsa, points, I believe, in the same direction

The circumstances under which Dhruva Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda II are distinctly given Sensual plessures made Govinda careless of the kingdom, and, entrusting the affairs of the state to his younger brother, he allowed the sovereign power to drop away from his hands (v 10) Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III or Jagattunga His son, known as Amoghavarsa, the great patron of the Digambara Jainas is here called Nrpatunga (v 12), which name is found in a Jaina work also The city of Mānyakheta, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him

His son, Krsna II, who is also known by the name of Akālavarsa, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him He frightened the Gūrjara, destroyed the pride of Lāta, taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Gānga and the Magadha (v 13) As this Krsnarāja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the other princes, this account may be relied on as true Akālavarsa is represented as a powerful prince in the Prasasti at the end of the Uttara Purāna of the Jainas also The Lāta prince alluded to seems to have belonged

to the Gujrat branch of the Rāstrakūta family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III or Jagattunga, who assigned the province of Lāta, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra. Akālavarsa, the grandson of Jagattunga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lāta country.

Jagattunga was the name of Akālavarsa's son From the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants, he was supposed to have been a reigning prince, and following others, I stated in the first English edition of my Early History of the Deccan that he became king after his father But from a number of circumstances it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of the work I corrected that statment This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us, in which he is represented to have been taken away by the creator to heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels who had heard of his beauty (v 14) Akālavarsa was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra III, the son of Jagattunga

There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince, named Amoghavarsa, who was the son of Indra III He is not mentioned by name or as a king in the Sangli grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Kharepatan grant; while in the third and only other grant which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda IV altogether and regard Amoghavarsa as the only prince But the grant before us clears the difficulty Amoghavarsa is there spoken of as " having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father " (v 17) He reigned therefore for a very short time (for a year, as stated in the Bhadana grant published after this), and hence is not noticed in the Sangli grant

The next prince, Govinda IV, is of course highly praised in his Sangli grant But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses (v 18) The Kharepatan grant agrees with it in speaking of him as " the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love " and as " surrounded by women."

Our grant agrees also with that found at Kharepatan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince His name was Amoghavarsa, and he was the son of Jagattunga, and consequently the uncle of Govinda IV He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Rāstrakūtas (v. 19). The Kharepatan grant gives his proper name, which was Baddiga. He was assisted in the government of the kingdom by his son Krsna III, who was engaged in wars with his neighbours and subjugated Dantiga and Vappuka (v 22) He uprooted Rachyāmalla and placed on the throne in the Gānga country (Gāngapāti, i. e Gangavādi) a prince of the name of Bhūtārya (v 23). In an Inscription at Atakur, noticed by Mr. Rice[1] and published by Dr Fleet,[2] one Būtuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Rācamalla and to have made himself master of the Gānga country Būtuga assisted Kannardeva, i e, Krsna III, who is mentioned at the beginning of the Inscription, in destroying Rajāditya, the Cola king, and received a reward from him. Būtuga is elsewhere called Būtayya,[3] and our Bhūtārya is a Sanskritised form of this, while our Rachyāmalla is clearly the Rācamalla of the Atakur Inscription But in the latter, Krsna's connection with the destruction of Rācamalla and the rise of Būtayya are not mentioned The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner But there can be no question that Būtayya was assisted by Krsna III, and owed his elevation to him, since, in the fight with Rājāditya, Būtayya acted as if his feudatory and received a reward as from a master The name of the Pallava whom Krsna III is stated to have subdued was Anniga (v 24) Who the Dantiga and Vappuka were, that he put down, it is difficult to say, but the former name was borne by some Pallava rulers of Kāñcī

On the death of Amoghavarsa, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Krsna III ascended the throne (v 28) He was called Akālavarsa also, as

1 Inscriptions at Sravana-Belgola, p 21

2 Ep Ind, Vol. II, p 173

3 Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p. 270

the other princes of this dynasty, bearing the name Krsna, were. Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Krsna III is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarsa, and another Krsna is brought in, who is identified with one of his younger sons, who never reigned, but is represented to have reigned and is called Krsna IV In my Early History of the Deccan I have given the true sense of the passages and shewn the mistakes. The Kharepatan grant, which gives the true relationship and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded But now the present grant confirms the account in the Kharepatan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarsa had no brother of the name of Krsna who could have preceded or succeeded him , the king who preceded him was his nephew Govinda IV ; and the Krsna who succeeded him was his son There was no other Krsna, who followed this last and could be called Krsna IV, according to any of our authorities.

Jagattunga, the brother of Krsna III, in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him ; for the latter was succeeded by Khottiga. who appears to have been Krsnarāja's step-brother according to the Karda grant, and he was followed by the son of his brother Nirupama Jagattunga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers

The name of the grantee ends in appa, or apayya, which shows that he was a Southern Brahman He belonged to the Kānva school of the White Yajurveda, and even at the present day there are followers of that school near Nagpur The village Tālapurumsaka, which was granted, was bounded on the East by another of the name of [Mādātadhindhara], on the South by the river [Kanhanā], on the West by the village of [Mohama] or [Mohama] grāma , and on the North by [Vadhrīha] (1 56 f). Of these, Kanharā is the present river of the same name, which has a course from the North-west of Nagpur to the South-east , Mohama or Mohamagrāma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chindwada District, about 50 miles to the North-west of Nagpur ; and Vadhrha is Berdi in the vicinity of that town Nothing corres-

ponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them

TRANSCRIPT[1]

FIRST PLATE

१ ओं[2] [॥] स जयति [ज]गदुत्स[व]प्रवेशप्रथनपर करपल्लवो मुरारे । ल[सद]मृतपयःक-

२ [3]णाकलंक्ष्मीस्तनकलशाननलब्धसंनिवेशः[4] ॥ [१] जयति च गिरिजाकपोल-विम्वादधिगतप-[5]

३ त्रविचित्रितांसभित्तिः । त्रिपुरविजयिनः प्रियं प[रो]ध कृतमदनाभ[यद]नशा-सनेव ॥ [२]

४ श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तलैकतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनेत्रोत्स[वे] देवो मन्मथवान्धवः[6] कुमुदि-नीनाथस्सु-

५ धावीधितिः[7] । निःशेषामरतर्पणार्पिततनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृतेर्यस्याशः शिरसा गुण-प्रियतया

६ नूनं धृतः शम्भुना ॥ [३] तस्मादद्विरमानपरः कुमुदावलीना दोषान्धकार-दलनः परिपूरिताशः । ज्यो-

७ [त्स्न]प्रवाह इव दर्शितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्त्तत क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥ [४] अभवदतु[ल]-

८ कान्तिस्तत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुवंशो दुग्धसिन्धूयमाने । अधिगत-हरिनील[प्रा]-

९ लसत्नायकश्री रशिथिलगुणसंगो भूषणं[यो] भुवोभूत् ॥ [५] उद्धृ[त्त]दै-त्यकुलकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्त[त्रा]-

१० वतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सार्थकवर्गभाजस्तुगा इति क्षितिभुजः प्र[थि]ता

1 From Dr. Hultzsch's ink-impressions

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read लक्ष्मी.

4 Read लब्ध

5 Read बिम्बा°.

6 Read बान्धव

7 Read दीधिति

११ वभूवुः[1] ॥ [६*] क्षितितलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्ष[त]रिपुदन्तिघटोजनिष्ट
रट्टः । तमनु च सुतरा[ष्ट्रकू]ट-

१२ नाम्ना भुवि विदितोजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः [७*] तस्मादरातिव[नि]ताकुच-
चा[रु]हारनीहारभानु[रु]दगा-

१३ दिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं [च]कार [2]चतुरब्ध्युपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्वं[3] य [ए]-
तदसिलागलभिन्न[दु]र्गः[4] ॥ [८*] [त]स्मा-

१४ दपालयदिमां वसुधां पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुभ्रैः । यत्का-
रितेश्वरगृहैर्व्वसु-

१५ [म]त्यनेककैलासशैलनिचितेव चिर विभाति ॥ [९*] गोविन्दराज इति
तस्य वभूव[5] नान्ना सनुस्स भो-

SECOND PLATE ; FIRST SIDE

१६ गभर[भं]गुरराज्य[चि]न्तः । आत्मानुजे[6] निरुप[मे] विनिवेश्य सम्यक्साम्रा-
ज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीचकार ॥ [१०*] [श्वे]-

१७ तातपत्रत्रितयेन्दुविम्वलीलोदयाद्रेः[7] कलिवल्लभाख्यात् । ततः कृतारातिमदेभ-
भंगो जातो जगतुंग-[8]

१८ [मृ]गाधिराजः ॥ [११*] तत्सूनुराननतनृपो नृपतुंगदेवः सोभूत्स्वसैन्यभरभंगु-
रिताहि[र]ाजः । यो मान्यखे-

१९ ट[म]मरेन्द्रपुरोपहासि गीर्व्वाणगर्व्वमिव खर्व्वयितुं व्यधत्त ॥ [१२] तस्यो-
र्जितगूर्ज्जरो हृतहटल्लटो-

२० द्भटश्रीमदो गौडानां विनयव्रतार्प्पणगुरुस्सामुद्रनिद्राहर । द्वारस्था[ग]क्कलिंग-
गांगमगधै-

२१ [9]रभ्यार्च्चिताज्ञश्चिरं सूनुस्सूनृतवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ [१३]
अभूज्जगत्तुंग इति प्रसि-

२२ द्ध[स्त]दंगजः स्त्रीनयनामृतांशुः । [10]अलब्धराज्य स दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्या-
गनाप्रार्थनयेव धात्रा ॥ [१४] त-

२३ नं[द]नः क्षितिमपालयदिन्द्रराजो यद्रूपस[म्भ]वपराभवभीरुणेव । मानात्पुरं-
२४ [व मद]नेन पिनाकपाणिकोपाग्निना निज[त]नु क्रियते[11] [स्म] भस्म ॥
[१५*] [त]स्मादमोघवर्षो[12]

1 Read वभूवु. 2 Read चतुरब्ध्युप°. 3 Read क्षेत्र.

4 Read दुर्ग. 5 Read वभूव नाम्ना.

6 The Akṣara नु is entered above the line. 7 Read बिम्ब.

8 Read जगत्तुंग. 9 Read °रभ्यार्चिता° 10 Read अलब्ध.

11 Read क्रियते 12 Read °वर्षो.

२५ [रौ]द्रधनुर्भंगज[नि]तबलमहिमा[1] । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्दशरथा-
ज्जातः ॥ [१६*] क्षिप्रं दि-

२६ वं पि[तु]रिव प्रणयाद्गतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । राज्यं बभौ मदनसौख्य-

२७ विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति [2]विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ [१७*] सोप्यंगनानयन-
पाशनि[रु]द्धवुद्धिरुन्म[ा]-

२८ र्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्व्वसत्वः ॥ दोषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृति[श्ल]थांगः आपस्तयं सह-
जतेज-

२९ सि जातज[ाड्ये] ॥ [१८*] [स]मन्तै[र]थ रट्टराज्यमहिमालम्बार्थिभिर्थितो[4]
देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-

३० लोल्लासैषिणा प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो वि[वे]किषु ज[ग]त्तुंगात्मजोमोघ-
वाक्पेयूषा[ब्धि]-[5]

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE.

३१ रमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ [१९*] श्रीकृ[ष्ण]राजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेश्व-
रादजनि सूनुः ।

३२ [यः] शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभावेप्यभूद्भुवने ॥ [२०*] [श्री]रट्टराज्यसुरवर-
रक्षापरि[खा] मदेन य-

३३ स्याज्ञा । विपुलां विलंघयन्तः स्वयमपतं[6] द्रोहि[णो]ध[स्त]ात् ॥ [२१*]
येन मधुकैटभाविव पुनरुन्म-

३४ [ग्नौ] जनोपमर्द्दाय । श्रीवल्लभेन निहतौ भुवि दन्तिगवप्पुकौ दुष्टौ ॥
[२२*] र[छ्या]म[ह]विष[द्रुम]मुद-

३५ [स्य] निहितेन योकृत सनाथा । भूतार्यपुण्यतरुणा मर्टीमिव मंगपल्लीम
॥ [२३*] परि[म]लि[ताष्णि]-

३६ [ग]पल्लवविपत्तिरासी[न्न] विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति यत्प्रतापे शौर्य्याविद्वे-
[षि]गार्गेपि व[7] [२४*] य[स्य]

३७ प[रु]षेक्षिताखिलदक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूर्ज्जरहृदयात्कालंज-

३८ रचित्रकूटाशा ॥ [२५*] अनमद्वा पूर्व्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलद्वीपात् ।
यं [ज]न-

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1 Read बल.
2 Read विश्रुत.
3 Read बुद्धि°.
4 Read लम्बार्थि°
3 Read °षाब्धि°.
6 Read °मपतन्.
7 This व represents a mark of punctuation (।).

३९ कालकलापकपि कल्पविलयक्षयदण्डम[यान] ॥ [२६*] क्षितिधरस्य महत्या [1]प्रलम्ब-
भुज(ा) [या] पीनायतोर[स्क]या

४० [वृत्ता]मूर्त्त्य[2] कीर्तिकान्ताहितालिङ्गनललितस्य सत्त्वोद्भवैः । ज्ञात्वा यं पु[रुषो]त्तमं
[ाम]सद्यः विश्वंभरा-[3]

४१ [भ्यु]द्धृते शान्ते धाम्नि ज्यं गत[ः][4] प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृतार्थः पिता ॥
[२७*] वृत्ते नृत्तसु[र]ागने सर[भ]सं

४२ दिव्य[न]र्त्त[की]कलाशिषि अधिकान्तस्य नितान्त[भाषि]तहरे[5] राज्याभि[षे]कोत्सवे ।
[6]य[स्य]ाव[द्ध]करमहोद्य-

४३ मनन्तलमनुत्तमोद्याहिव[न्य]ः स्वसमर्पणार्थमभवत्कल्पनानुकूल्यप्रियाः[7] ॥ [२८*]
रा च पर[म]-

४४ भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद[मो]घवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातप र म भ [ट्टा]र[8]

४५ रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रपरममाहे[श्वरश्री]मद[क]ालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्री[मद्व]-

४६ [ल्लभ]नरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्व्वा[के]व[9] स्वजानप[द्]ान्स[म]ाज्ञाप[यत्यस्तु व]ः
संविदि[तं] यथा [श्री]मा[न्य]-

THIRD PLATE.

४७ [खे*] [ट]राजधानीस्थितेन शककृपकालातीतसंव[त्स]रशतेष्वष्ट(ा)सु द्विष[ष्ट्य]धिके-
[षु] शार्व्वरिसं-

४८ [वत्सर]ान्तर्गतवैशाखबहुलपश्चम्या[10] मम प्रा[णे]भ्योपि प्रियतमस्य कनीय[सो
भ्रातु]ः श्री[म]-

४९. [ज्ज]गत्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ आपि[11] च ॥ [ज्ये]ष्ठे भ्रातरि कुर्व्वता
निजकर्मा [म]र्त्ति जितो

५० [लक्ष्म]णः सौं[न्दर्ये]ण[12] [म]नोभवः सुचरितै रामस्स ध[र्म्मात्म] जा[13]।
कान्त्या शी[त]रु[चि]श्च येन सततं शौ[र्ये]-

५१ ण सिंहो जग[त्तुं]गस्य[स्त्व]भिवाञ्छितम[द्ग]म[ि]दं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥
[२९*] अत्यन्ताभिसंधिना मया नान्दि-

५२ वर्द्धनविनि[र्ग]तप्ररद्वाजस[गोत्र]वा[जि]काण्व[शा]सब्रह्मचारिभाइहस्तवेद[वेदां-
ग]-[14]

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[1] Read प्रलम्ब.
[2] Read मूर्त्या.
[3] Read विश्वंभरा.°
[4] The lower dot of the Visarga after गत is missing.
[5] Read तोषित.
[6] Read यस्यावद्ध°
[7] Read °भवल्लग्नानुकूल्य°
[8] Read पादानुध्यात.
[9] Read सर्व्वानेव.
[10] Read बहुलपश्चम्यां.
[11] Read अपि
[12] Read सौन्दर्येण.
[13] Read धर्मात्मज'. The sign after ज in धर्मात्मज may be intended for the Jihvāmūlīya.
[14] Read सब्रह्मचारि.

५३ पारगारि[षि]यण्णाय ना[ग]पुरन[न्दि]वर्द्धनान्तर्गततालपु[रु]षकनामा ग्रामः सो-
द्रंगः स-

५४ प[रि]क[र]: सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः सदण्डदोषदशापराधः स[र्व्वो]त्पत्तिसहितः

५५ पू[र्व्वप्र]सिद्धचतुःसीमापर्यन्तः । [1]ब्रह्मदायन्या[ये]नाचन्द्रार्क्क न[म]स्यो दत्तः । य

५६ [स्य पू]र्व्वत[:*] [मादाटढिढर]न[ामा] ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः [कन्हना]नदी ।
पश्चिमतः [मोहम]ग्रामः । उ-

५७ त्त[रतः वधीरग्राम] एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं तालपुं[रुषं]कं[2] रिषियपट्य[स्य
कृ]षतः कर्षयतो

५८ भुंजतो भोजयतो वा [न के]नचिद्व्याघातः [क]ाय[:][3] प[4] यश्च व्या[घा]त-
तं करोति स पञ्चभिरपि महा-

५९ पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यात् ॥ स्वस्यव्वा[5] ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो ह[रे]त
वसुन्धरा । [स] विष्ठाया कृ[मि]-

६० र्भूत्वा पितृभिः [स]ह पच्यते ॥ [३०*] सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले
का[ले] पालनीयो भवद्भिः । स-

६१ र्वा[ने]वं भावि[न]: पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रा[म]भद्रः ॥ [३१*]
[चे]वान[न्वेर]स्य [भ्रात्रा] यो[ग्राण्ट्ये]-

६२ न लि[खित]मिति [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[The first 28 verses are identical with verses 1-8, 10-13, 15-21, 24, and 26-33 of the Karhad plates, and have been already translated above, pp 285 ff, and also in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol IV, pp 286 ff]

(Line 43) And he, the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara, the great devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva), the prosperous Akālavarsadeva Prthvīvallabha, the prosperous Vallabhanarendradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara, the prosperous Amoghavarsadeva, —being well, commands all the people of his country —

(L. 46) "Be it known to you that, while staying in the prosperous capital Mānyakheta, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, on the fifth Tithi of the dark (half) of Vaiśākha falling in the year Śārvarin, for the

1 Read ब्रह्म° 2 Read °पुरुषकं

3 Read कार्य , the upper dot of the Visarga is missing.

4 Instead of this प read ।. 5 Read अन्यच्च.

enhancement of the holy fame of (my) younger brother, the prosperous Jagattungadeva, who is dearer to me even than (my) life,—

(Verse 29) "Let this grant of land fulfil the wishes of that Jagattunga who has always surpassed Lakṣmaṇa in serving (his) eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of love by (his) beauty, the well-known lovable son of Dharma (i e Yudhisthira) by (his) good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by (his) lustre, and the lion by (his) bravery;—

(L 51) "With this intention I have given to Risiyappa, who has come from Nandivardhana, belongs to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, is a student of the Vāji-Kānva Śākhā, (is) the son of Bhāilla, and is conversant with the Vedas and their subsidiary treatises, the village named Tālapurumsaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside, with the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain and gold, with the flaws in measurement and inflictions of fate, with all the produce, up to (its) four previously known boundaries, (and) to be respected (i e not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure, in the manner of a gift to a Brahman."

(L. 55) To the east of it (is) the village named [Mādāta-dhindhara], to the south the river [Kanhanā] ; to the west the village of [Mohama] ; (and) to the north the village of [Vadhrīra]

(L 57) No one should cause obstruction to Risiyapayya while he cultivates Tālapurumsaka, defined by these four boundaries, causes (it) to be cultivated, enjoys (it) or causes (it) to be enjoyed. And he who causes obstruction will incur the five great sins; for it is said —

(V. 30) " He who takes away land that has been given by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure and is cooked (in hell) together with (his) ancestors "

(V 31.) " Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, (which is) common to (all) kings "

(L 61.) Engraved by Yo[grāstya], the brother of [Ce]vāna-[nvera].

TWO SETS OF RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA COPPER-PLATES FROM THE NAVASARI DISTRICT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890-94, pp. 253ff.]

See the Prefatory note at the commencement of the Article on page 293, ante —N. B. U.

These sets were forwarded to the Society by the Baroda Government and made over to me for transcription and translation On reading them I found they were the same as those shewn by the Baroda Diwan to Mr H H. Dhruva Mr. Druva published a transcript of them with remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol XL, but did not give a translation I have got Mr Shridhar R Bhandarkar to prepare one for this paper, and now submit it to the Society

Each of the plates is 13 inches long and 9 broad As in the case of the Wardha plates, the first has the Inscription on one side, the second on both, and the third on one. The seal has the figure of Śiva on it Each of these sets records the grant of a village to a Brahman, made by Indra, the son of Jagattunga and grandson of Krsna or Akālavarsa, of the Rāstrakūta dynasty of Mānyakheta, on the seventh of the bright half of Phālguna, when 836 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The grantee in B, is a Brahman, of the name of Siddhapabhatta, son of Vennapabhatta of the Laksmana Gotra, and student of the Mādhyamdina School of the Vājasaneya or white Yajurveda; and the village conveyed is Tenna in the Lāta country In A, the grantee's name is Prabhākarabhatta, son of Rāmapabhatta of the same Gotra and Veda as the other, and the village conveyed is Umbarā in the Lāta country.

The Rāstrakūtas belonged, according to this charter also, to the Sātyaki branch of the Yādavas, and the genealogy given in it begins with Dantidurga, the first paramount sovereign of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his uncle Krsna The name of Krsna's immediate successor, Govinda II, is omitted, undoubted-

ly because, as stated in the Wardha grant, he was addicted to sensual pleasures and left the government to his brother Nirupama. Nirupama's exploit, given in other grants, is mentioned here also, viz., his having captured the white state umbrella of the king of Kosala and another of a Northern prince This Northern prince was the king of the Vatsas whose capital was Kauśāmbī, the modern Kosam, near Allahabad

Dhruva Nirupama was followed by Jagattunga, of whom the only thing said is, that he honoured the Brahmans His son, who is elsewhere known by the name of Amoghavarsa and Nrpatunga, is here called Śrī-Vallabha He is represented to have re-established the glory of his family which had been diminished by the Cālukyas, and to have parched or fried the Cālukyas as if they were grains of gram. These Cālukyas must have been the Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi

His son, who succeeded him, was Krsnarāja, elsewhere called Akālavarsa and Śubhatunga Of his fights with the Gūrjara, old men used to say when there were heavy showers and rainbows during the rainy-season, "thus did he in anger draw his bow which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, and thus did he rain down his arrows " If in 836 Śaka, the date of the grant, it was old men that thus described his wars with the Gūrjara king, those wars must have taken place about twenty-five or thirty years before 836 Saka Akālavarsa, we know from other sources, came to the throne about 797 Śaka

Krsnarāja had a son of the name of Jagattuna who married Laksmī, the daughter of Ranavigraha, son of Kokkalla, king of Cedi. The issue of this marriage was Indrarāja, whose other name was Nityavarsa He is represented to have meditated on the feet of the glorious Akālavarsa and not on those of his father Jagattunga As this expression is used with reference to the immediate predecessor on the throne of the reigning king, Indra succeeded his grandfather and not his father And thus inference is, as we have seen, confirmed by an express statement in the Wardha grant

Indra residing usually at his capital Mānyakheta, had, when he made these two grants, gone to Kurundaka for the festival

on account of his Paṭṭabandha, which probably was the coronation festival On that occasion he weighed himself against gold and gave away twenty lacks and a half of drammas, and granted Kurundaka and other villages, and restored four hundred others, which had been confiscated by previous princes

The fact that Indra, the reigning sovereign at Mānyakheta, granted villages in the Lāta country, and not a member of the Lāta branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III, and of which we have several grants, raises the presumption that that branch had ceased to exist or been put an end to before this time The earliest grant of that branch, known as the Baroda grant, is dated Śaka 734, and was issued by Karka, the son of Indra, who was the first Lāta prince or chief [1] The second is that known as the Kavi grant, which was issued by Govinda, the son of Karka, and is dated Śaka 749 [2] The third is another Baroda grant, dated Śaka 757, and issued by Dhruvarāja, the son of Karka, the brother of the last Govinda [3] The fourth is that issued by Dhruva, the grandson of this Dhruvarāja, and dated Saka 789 [4] The fifth is in my possession It was issued in the same year as the fourth, by Dantivarman, the brother of Dhruva Up to the description of Dhruva it agrees almost word for word with the fourth The sixth was issued in Śaka 810 by Kisna or Akālavarsa, who appears to have been a son of Dantivarman [5] We have no grant of a later date of any prince of this family; but the next Gujarat Rāstrakūta grant is that issued by a vassal of Krsna II, or Akālavarsa of the main branch, or by Kisna II himself in Śaka 832 [6] And in the grants before us we have his grandson and successor assigning villages in the same country in the year Saka 836

1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol VIII, pp 292-303, Ind. Ant, Vol. XII, p. 162.

2 Ind. Ant, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 196 ff.

4 Ind Ant, Vol XII, pp 179 ff

5 Ind. Ant., Vol XIII, pp 65 ff.

6 Epigraphia Indica, Vol I, pp 52 ff

It would thus appear that the province of Lāta was resumed by the Rāstrakūtas of Mānyakheta after 810 Śaka and before 832, i e, in the time of Krsna II or Akālavarsa And this is confirmed by what we find stated in the Wardha plates, where Krsnarāja or Akālavarsa is represented to have "put an end to the arrogance of the lord of Lāta" And from the grants, No 4 and No 5, we see that the Rāstrakūtas of Lāta were not on terms of peace with their kinsmen of the main branch One of them, Dhruva, who issued the second Baroda grant of Saka 757, is represented in those grants to have been killed in a battle with Vallabha, and his son to have recovered his lost kingdom This Vallabha must have been Amoghavarsa I, the son of Govinda III

The village Tenna is identified with Tena which is situated in the Navsari district, and Umbarā may be the modern Bagumbra, with the prefix Bag

---

TRANSCRIPT

B

I

ॐ स्वस्ति । स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दु-
कलया कम-

लंकृतम् ॥ जयति विबुधबन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलवि-
लोलत्कौस्तुभ. कंस[के]

तुः । मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यंति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्य-
न्मानसास्ते कटा-

क्षा. ॥ स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धृतदुर्द्धरारिचक्र ।
अपहृतबलिम-

ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेव. ॥ अस्ति श्रीनाथना-
भिस्फुरदुरुसरसांभोज-

जन्मा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादत्रि. सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द इन्दुस्ततोपि ।
तस्माद्वंशो यदूना

जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्व्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनाना नगन-
कुवलयै

रच्यमानश्चचार ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
नृपति
पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधे स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्य शंखचक्र-
करलाछ-
नमाजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदेश ।
यस्यासमस्य समरे वसुधाङ्गनाया काण्ची(ञ्चीं) पदे पदमकारि
करेण भूय. ॥ आसेतो सा-
नुवप्रप्रबलकपिकुलोल्लनफुल्लचङगादाकैलासाद्भवानीचलचरणरण-
न्नूपुरो-
न्नादितान्तात् । यस्याज्ञा भूमिपाला करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालाय-
मानामानम्रेरु-
त्तमाङगैरर्वानतलजुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन
पुनर्जिगीषो स्वर्ग
विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञ ॥ तत्राभवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्य.
श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
ति प्रथितप्रताप ॥ दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभङगलीलायमान
घनविस्तृतकान्तकी-

II – First side

र्ते । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिष्णोस्तस्माद्भून्निरुपमो निरवद्य-
शौर्य ॥ कीर्त्ते (र्ते) कु-
न्दरुच समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भ सितो लक्ष्म्या पाणितले विला-
सकमलं पूर्णे-
न्दुबिम्बद्युति । एकं कोपितकोमलेश्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पुनर्येनोदा·
च्यनराधिपाद्य-
श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माद्बभौ जगत्तुङगो जन्म सन्मानितद्विज ।
सोपि श्रीवल-
भं सूनु राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ निमग्ना यश्चलुक्याब्धौ रट्टराज्यश्रियं
पुन । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धर·
न्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलितस्तम्बान्दण्डेनानीतक-
ण्टक । योदहद्द्व(द्द्वे)-
षिणश्चण्डचलुक्याश्रणकानिव ॥ उच्चैश्चलुक्यकुलकन्दलकालकेतो-
स्तस्मादक्र

ण्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराज.। पीतापि कर्णपुटकेरसकृज्जनेन कीर्त्तिः परि-

भ्रमति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्ति ॥ उयद्दोधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्या- कृष्टमी-

दृग्धनु कुद्धेनोपरि वेरिवीराशिरसामेवं वि ्रकी शरा । धारासा रिणि सेन्द्रचापव-

लये यस्येत्थमब्दागमे गर्ज्जद्गुर्ज्जरसंगरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जन शन्श(शंस)ति ॥ अ-

जनि जनितभंगो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादवरितमद ग्धी श्रीजगतुं- गदेव । भ्वजसर

सिजशंखप्रोल्लसच्चक्रपाणिव्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्या ॥ आसीत्कोप्यथ

हहयान्वयभवो भूप सहस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जद्दुर्जयरावणोर्जितलसद्दो- र्दण्डकण्डूहृ-

र । विश्रान्ते श्रवणेषु नाकसदसा यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरं सिद्धै सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखि-

तैर्व्यासि कुम्भितय ॥ वंशे तस्य रूप-नवशरशो कोक्कल्लभू- पात्मजो राजा श्री-

II —Second side

रणविग्रहस्तमभवच्चेदीश्वर कीर्तिमान । यस्यारातिपुरन्धिमण्ड नमुष रा(स)र्व्वोपि पृथ्वी प

ति- सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रय ति विकल पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकल- गुणगणाब्धेर्व्विष्फु(स्फु)रद्धाम-

धाम्न कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मी सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमु- देन्दु सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

हरिरिव परिणिन्ये ता जगत्तुङ्गदेव ॥ चतुरुदधितटान्तख्यातशौ- र्योथ ताभ्यामभव

दरिगरष्टो रट्टकन्दर्प्पदेव । मनसि कृतनिवास. कान्तसीमन्तिनीना सकलजनशरण्य पु

ण्यलावण्यराशि- ॥ देवो यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनरोचिष्णुविश्वम्भ- रामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण स-

मभूत् श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायण । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधिया जग्नु- समं विद्विषा

दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ कृतगोवर्द्ध-नोद्धारं हेलो-

न्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ सकलजनम (न)मस्य

सोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान(न्) । उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-

कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव ॥ स च परमभट्टा-रकमहाराजाधिराज-

परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-जपरमेश्वर-

श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेव· कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकाम्राष्ट्र-पतिविषयपतिग्राम·

कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संव्वि-दितं यथा श्रीमान्य-

खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्सवाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्म-

नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्य-न्दिनसब्रह्मचा·

III

रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गतश्रीवेन्नपभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदे-शान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्ज-

समीपे तेन्ननामग्राम· यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपल्लिका दक्षिणतो नाम्भी-तटाकं पश्चिमतो वली-

शा उत्तरतो कथियणग्राम· एवमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्सोद्रंगः सपरिकर सदण्ड-

दशापराध· सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्य[दे]योम्भ्यन्तरसि-द्धया शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-

शतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्स-

वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामान-न्यान्यपि पूर्व्वपृथ्वीपालवि-

लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रम्मलक्षैस्समाद्धैः सह विमुच्य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-

त्रोत्कलितिकसंतपर्णमर्थमयावेच्कात्तिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायक-
स्थित्या

भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केन-
चिदल्पापि परि-

पन्थना कार्या तथागामिभिर्म्मद्वन्नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-

मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशे(शे)षोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्तव्य यश्चाज्ञाना-
ल्लोपयति स पंचभिर्म्महा-

पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छे-

त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं प[्र]थमं
सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गा-

वः लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गा च मही च दद्यात् ॥
सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां

काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥

श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेयम्-
मिन्द्रराजाङ्घ्रिसेविना ॥ श्री

A.

I

स्वस्ति । स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ जयति

विबुधबन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलत्कौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः ।
मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृ-

त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ स जयति
भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-

समुद्धृतदुर्धरारिचक्रः । अपहृतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र
इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥

अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदुरुतरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभूः स्तस्मादत्रिः
सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्र-

न्द इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्वंशो यदूना जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्तै-
विलासै· शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानाम्ना(ना न)
यनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा
श्रीदन्तिदुर्गनृप-
ति· पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधे स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्य
शङ्खचक्रकरलाञ्छन-
माजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारि जघन्यभागे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदे-
श । यस्यासमस्य [स]मरे वसुधाङ्गनाया काञ्चीपदे पदमकारि करेण
भूय ॥ आसेतो सानुव-
प्रप्रबलकपि[कुलो]न्लूनफुल्लल्लवङ्गाद्ाकैलासाद्भवानीचलचर[र]णरण-
न्नूपुरोन्नादितान्तात् ।
यस्याज्ञा भूमिपाला करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालायमानामानम्रेरुत्त-
माङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जा
नवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जिगीषो स्वर्गं विजेतु-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञ । तत्रा-
भवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्य श्रीकृष्णराजनृपति प्रथितप्रताप ।
दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
भंगलीलायमानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्त्ते । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलं-
करिष्णोस्तस्मादभू-
न्निरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्य्य । कीर्त्ति कुन्दरुच समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान-
कुंभ· सितो लक्ष्म्या

III—first side

लक्ष्म्या· पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णेन्दुबिम्बद्युति । एकं कंपित-
कोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
नर्येनोदीच्यनराधिपाद्यश इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लेभे जग-
त्तुंगो जन्म सम्मानि-
तद्विज । सापि श्रीवल्लभं सूनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ निमग्ना यश्च-
लुक्याब्धौ रट्टराज्यश्रि·
यं पुन । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलि-
तस्तम्भान्दण्डेनाना-
तकण्टक । येादद्द्रे(दद्दे)षि गश्चण्डवलुक्याश्चणकानिव ॥ उच्चैश्च-
लुक्यकुलकन्दलकालके-

तोस्तस्मादकृष्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराज. । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसकृ-
ज्जनेन कीर्त्ति परिभ्र-
मति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्ति ॥ उच्चदीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमी-
दृग्धनुः । क्रुद्धेनोप-
रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ता शरा । धारासारिणि सेन्द्रचाप-
वलये यस्ये-
त्थमब्दागमे गर्ज्जद्गुर्ज्जरसङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जन शन्स (शंस)
ति ॥ अजनि जनि-
तभङ्गो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्री श्रीजगत्तुंगदेव. । ध्वज-
सरसि-
जशंखप्रोल्लसच्चक्रपाणिर्व्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्या ॥
आसीत्कोप्य-
थ हैहयान्वयभवो भूप सहस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जद्दुर्ज्जयरावणोर्ज्जितलसद्दो-
र्द्दण्डकण्डू-
हर. । विश्रान्ते श्रवणेषु नाकसदनां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरं. सिद्धै
सान्द्रसुधारसेन लि-
खितेर्व्याप्ता ककुब्भित्तय ॥ वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशो कोक्कल्ल-
भूपात्मजो राजा श्रीर-
णविग्रह समभवच्चेदीश्वर कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंध्रिमण्डनमुषः
सर्वोपि पृथ्वीप-
तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकल. पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकलगु-
णगणार्घ्येणिव्वस्फु(स्फु)रद्धा-
मधाम्न कलिनकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मी सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदे-
न्दु. सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

II —Second side

हरिरिव परिणिन्ये ता जगत्तुंगदेव. ॥ चतुरुदधितटान्तख्यातशौर्योथ
ताभ्यामभवदरि-
घरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्पदेव. । मनसि कृतनिवास कान्तसीमन्तिनीना सक-
लजनशरण्य पु-
ण्यलावण्यराशि ॥ मदनममृतबिन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च बिम्बं नव-
नलिनमृणालं चन्दनं चन्द्रिका
च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्ज्जन्मनिर्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्टमानन्दि-
वेधा. ॥ देवो

यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोपिणुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत्
श्रीकीर्तिनारा-
यण. । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं विद्विषां दैर्घ्यं
वक्त्ररुचो मनासि च भ-
यं सेवांजलि मौल्य ॥ कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।
उपेन्द्र-
मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ सकलजननमस्यः सोथ
कृत्वा नमस्या-
न्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोग्याग्रहारान् । उपरि परशुरामस्यैककुम्भामदान-
स्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव । स च परमभट्टारकमहारा-
जाधिराजपरमेश्व-
रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर
श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथा-
संबध्य-
मानान् राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्त-
रादी-
न्समादिशत्यस्तु व संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना
श्रीप-
ट्टबन्धाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-
पुण्य-

III

यशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिणे
राणपभट्टसुतय
प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्मणिजसमीपे उम्बरा नाम ग्राम·
यस्य पू-
र्व्वत तोलजकं दक्षिणतो मोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तरतो
जवलकूपकमे-
कमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षित सोद्रंग. सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः
सोत्पद्यमान-
विष्टिक सधान्यहिरण्यदेयोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया पूर्व्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः
शकनृपकाला-
तीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु षटत्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्ध-
सप्तम्या संपन्ने

श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्सवे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादा-
न्ग्रामान्
अन्यान्यपि पूर्व्वैर्भूपालविलुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विशति-
द्रम्मलक्षैस्सा-
र्द्धं सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिसंतर्पणा-
र्थमा(म)-
घोदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयत
कृषत
कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि परिपंथना कार्या
तथागामिभिरस्म-
द्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयम-
स्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्त-
व्यः यश्चाज्ञानाल्लोपयति स पंचभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं
च भगवता व्यासेन ॥
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ सा-
मान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वाने-
तान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
सूनुना । कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्री·

TRANSLATION

B

May he (Visnu) protect you, the lotus springing from whose **navel** was made his abode by Brahman, and [may] Hara too [do **the** same] whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon Victorious is he who has Kamsa for his banner (i e, is **noted** for his destruction of Kamsa) [Krsna], the friend of the **gods**, on whose chest, broad as the Vindhya [mountain], dangles **the** pure Kaustubha, and on whose lotus-like face, the stage dance **the** sidelong glances of Laksmi with the pupils dulled from the **weight** of love Ever victorious is the Upendra-like Indrarāja-**deva**, the Nrsimha (the lion among men, Visnu in one of his **incarnations**), in whose strong arms rests Laksmī, who has rooted

out in battles the circle of enemies difficult to withstand, and who has done away with the Balimandala (the array of the mighty; Bali and his circle) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the expansive fresh lotus springing from the navel of the Lord of Laksmi Of him was born the son Atri, and of Atri again [was born] the moon, who sends forth nectared rays, and out of him grew on the earth the dynasty of the Yadus, in which [at one time] moved Krsna who was worshipped by the cowherds' wives with the lotuses, their eyes, accompained with various blandishments To that family belonged the Purusottama (the best of men Visnu), King Dantidurga, born in the wide Sātyaki branch, to whom of herself came Laksmi from the ocean of the Cālukya family, marked as his hands were with a conch and a disc (two of the things by the possession of which Visnu is marked, auspicious marks on the palms of hands resembling these objects), whose hand, matchless in battle that he was, having first established itself on the beautiful Jaghanyadeśa (the region of the hips, lowermost country) of his wife, the earth, and again pressed down tenderly at its will the Madhyadesa (waist, the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya Mountains), again established itself on the Kāñcīpada (the region below the waist where the girdle is worn; province of Kāñcī); whose orders all the kings obeyed with bowed heads and with knees bent to the ground, from the Setu (bridge), the blossoming Lavanga trees on the grounds on the summit of which are deflowered by host of big monkeys, up to Kailāsa, the regions of which are noisy from the sounding Nūpuras on the moving feet of Bhavānī, the orders forming the wreath on their heads with which come in contact their joined hands When the king, after having conquered the world by means of his arm, had gone to heaven, as if to conquer it, being desirous for a fresh victory, his paternal uncle, king Krsnarāja, of well-known prowess, filled his refulgent throne Of him, whose thick, wide and brilliant fame looked on the faces of the quarters, the women, like sandal-wood decorations, and who adorned the mountain, the family of the Rāstrakūtas, was born Nirupama of spotless valour, who in battle snatched away from the hand of the trembling lord of the Kosalas, one white umbrella (of royalty), which was glory itself as it were; which was the

white auspicious pot for the starting of his fame, white as the Kunda flower, on a journey to all the worlds; which was the sporting lotus in the hands of Lakṣmī, and had the beauty of the full-moon; and another from a king of the Northern People. Of him had birth Jagattuṅga, who honoured the Brahmans, and he in his turn had for his son Śrīvallabha, the king of kings, who, the wise one, while raising again the glory of the Raṭṭa kingdom, which had been drowned in the Cālukya ocean, appeared like Vīranārāyana raising the earth; who parched up (or fried) like gram his enemies, the fiery Cālukyas, having plucked out their stalks from the roots and having threshed out by means of Daṇḍa (a stick; punishment) the Kaṇṭakas (thorny substance; obnoxious persons). Of him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain-tree, the high family of the Cālukyas, was born Kṛṣṇarāja of unspotted life, whose fame, white as the moon, ranges over the world, though constantly drunk by people by means of the cavities of their ears; the occurrence of whose thundering fights which the Gūrjjara old men describe on the arrival of the rainy season of heavy showers and rain-bows by saying, "Thus did he in anger draw his bow, which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, thus did he rain down his arrows on the heads of his warrior enemies." Of him was born Jagattuṅgadeva, who broke up the host of his enemies, who brought low the beauty of Madana, who has on (the palm of) his hand a discus shining in the midst of a banner, a lotus and a conch, who by his greatness surpassed Viṣṇu, and who was the beloved of the soldierly Lakṣmī. There was a king (by name) Sahasrārjuna, born in the Haihaya family, who quieted the itching of the powerful and throbbing arms of the thundering and unconquerable Rāvaṇa, and by writing with thick nectar the letters setting forth whose name and fame, which found a resting-place in the ears of the gods, the walls in the shape of the quarters were filled up by the Siddhas. In the family of him, who was a hatchet to the families of his enemies, there was the famous king Śrīraṇavigraha, the son of king Kokkalla and lord of Cedi, into the Maṇḍala (the circle of feudatory princes) of whom, thief as he was of the decorations of his enemies' wives, entered every Vikala (ruined) lord of the earth on the occurrence of his Pakṣakṣaya (ruin of his

followers) as the Vikala (waned) moon enters the Mandala (disc) of the sun on the occasion of his Paksaksaya (the end of the [bright] fortnight) He, who was an ocean of the whole collection of virtues and was the dwelling place of brilliant lustre, had a daughter, Laksmī, who was Kalitakamalapāni (having lotus-like hands, having a lotus in her hands) Jagattungadeva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race and the ravisher of the hearts of women, married her like Hari himself From them sprang Rattakandarpadeva (the lord who was the cupid of the family of the Rattas), whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was the grinding-stone to his enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, and who was a refuge to all men and a store of heavenly beauty, the lord, who overrunning by his valour the earth, beautified by its girdle, the four oceans, became Viranārāyana, and on hearing of whose birth the beauty of the faces of his distressed enemies came by pallor, their minds by fear, and their heads by their joined hands (indicative) of servitude, all at the same time; who, the Indrarāja, rooting out Meru with ease, was not surprised at his (thus) surprising Upendra (Visnu) who lifted Govardhana Worthy of the homage of all men, the lord of the world, by making numerous grants to gods and Brahmans, which were to be respected (by all), surpassed, by the fame of his charity, Parasurāma, who owed the (fame of the) greatness of his virtues (charity) to his gift of one wretched village That lord of the kings of men, the glorious Nityavarsa, the highest lord, the king of great kings, the highest ruler, meditating on the feet of the glorious Akālavarsa, the highest lord, the king of great kings and the highest ruler, commands, being in the enjoyment of good health, all governors of districts and subdivisions, the heads of villages, the employés and holders of offices, great men, &c, so far as they are concerned with these orders · Be it known to you that I, who live in my capital Mānyakheta, and have come at present to Kurundaka for the festive occasion of my coronation (?), have, on the completion of the coronation ceremony, after weighing myself against gold, and without coming down from the pan, given away, together with 20 lakhs and a half of drammas, Kurundaka and other villages and 400 villages besides, confiscated by previous kings, given away by pouring

water, for the enhancement of the religious merits and fame in this world and the next of my parents and myself, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, in the year Yuvan, when 836 years have passed after the time of the Śaka king, the village called Tenna, in the vicinity of Kammanija, in the country of Lāta, to Siddhapabhaṭṭa, the son of Vennapabhaṭṭa and inhabitant of Pātaliputra, a student of the Vājasaneyi Mādhyamdina Sākhā, of the Gotra of Laksmana; to the east of which (village) lies Vāradapallikā, to the south the lake Nāmbhī, to the west Valīsā, and to the north the village of Vathiyana, that he might by its means perform the rites of Bali, Caru, Vaisvadeva, Agnihotra and hospitality—this village which is thus marked off by these four boundaries, with whatever stands on the land, and with appurtenances, with the flaws in the measurement and the mishaps, with whatever might be raised on the land by labour, and the revenue in grain and gold Therefore, no one should in the slightest degree obstruct him while enjoying and allowing others to enjoy this in the manner of a Brahman-gift, while cultivating or allowing others to cultivate it or conveying it to anybody else In the same manner the good kings o the future, whether of my family or of any other, bearing in mind that the fruit of the gift of land is common (to all kings), should respect this gift of mine exactly as they would their own He who through ignorance takes it away incurs the five great sins Indeed, the blessed Vyāsa says: "The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years; while he who resumes it, or approves of its being so resumed dwells in hell for as many years Gold is the first child of Agni (fire), land is Visnu's, and cows are the daughters of the Sun, he who gives gold, a cow and land makes a gift of the three worlds' "This bridge of religious merits (viz, making gifts of land) common to kings should at all times be respected by you." So prays Rāmabhadra again and again to all the great kings of the future This praiseworthy charter was composed by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nemāditya, the servant of the feet of Indrarāja

A

Portions additional to, or differing from, B.

II b, lines 3-4 मदनममृत° With the insignificant remnants of the materials of whose creation, did Brahmā verily create other delightful things, viz, Madana, the disc of the Moon dropping drops of nectar, the young lotus-stalk, sandal-wood and moonlight

II b, line 12 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभ The beloved one of the Earth and of Lakṣmī

III b, lines 1-3. लक्ष्मणगोत्राय &c The village called Umbarā in the vicinity of Kammaṇijja in the country of Lāṭa, to Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Rāṇapabhaṭṭa, and a student of the Vājasaneyi Mādhyaṃdina Śākhā, of the Gotra Lakṣmaṇa, to the east of which (village) lies Tolajaka, to the south Mogalikā, to the west, the village of Samkī, and to the north the Javala well

III, line 5 पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहित excluding the previous gifts to gods and Brahmans

A Om लोकत्रय—दद्यात्

A Om शस्ता and इन्द्रराजाधिसेविना

THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA KING KṚṢṆARĀJA I. AND ELĀPURA

[From the Indian Antiquary, 1883, Volume XII, pages 228ff.]

While preparing a paper on the Early History of the Deccan for the Bombay Gazetteer, I had to give an account of Kṛṣnarāja, an early Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and successor of Dantidurga, and in this connection had to examine the Baroda copper-plate Inscription published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal[1], Vol VIII, pp 292ff. It struck me that an important passage relating to this king had been misunderstood by the translator, and I found that Dr Buhler and Mr Fleet, when they had occasion to write about Krsnarāja accepted this translation, and spoke of Krsnarāja as having built a fort on the hill at Elāpura. Dr Bühler thought one of the stanzas was badly deciphered or was corrupt, and made out that a temple of Siva was constructed in addition to a hill fort; but he did not identify Elāpura[1] Mr Fleet expressed his opinion that Elāpura was the same as Yellapur in North Canara[2] And now, in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, pages 156ff, Mr. Fleet has given a revised transcript and translation of the Inscription, together with a facsimile. But I am sorry to observe his translation of the passage in question is still unsatisfactory As the point involved is important, I take the liberty of discussing the sense of the passage, and feel little doubt that a scholar like Mr Fleet will himself acknowledge the appropriateness of the translation I have to give The two stanzas are :—

एलापुराचलगताद्भुतसन्निवेशं
यद्वीक्ष्य विस्मितविमानचरामरेन्द्राः ।
एतस्व(त्स्व)यम्भु शिवधाम न कृत्रिमे श्री-
र्दृष्टेदृशीति सततं बहु चर्चयन्ति ॥
भूयस्तथाविधकृतौ व्यवसायहाने-
रेतन्मया कथमहो कृतमित्यकस्मात् ।
कर्तापि यस्य खलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी
तन्नाम कीर्तनमकार्यत येन राज्ञा ॥

1 Ind Ant, Vol, VI, p. 61.

2 Ind. Ant, Vol. XI, p. 124.

Mr Fleet corrects the कृत्रिमं of his facsimile to कृत्रिमम् in line 2 But the original is appropriate, and the emendation will not do.

Mr. Fleet translates the passage thus —"Having seen his wonderful encampment situated on the mountain of Elāpura, the astonished immortals, who travel in celestial cars, always take much thought, saying —"This is the abode of Svayambhu-Śiva, and no artificially made (dwelling) Śrī, (if she could be) seen, (would be) such as this' Verily even the architect who built it felt astonishment, saying —'(The utmost) perseverance would fail to accomplish such a work again, aho! how has it been achieved by me!'; (and) by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name"

The evident objections against this translation are .—1st Mr Fleet takes एला—संनिवेशम् as a Karmadhāraya compound, and a substantive noun not an adjective But in that case its gender ought to be masculine, since संनिवेश is a masc noun; but it is not so here, because यद् which is neuter, qualifies it यद ought to be यम् if the compound is a Karmadhāraya and a substantive

2 There must be a तद to answer to this यद, but where this तद is, does not clearly appear from the translation Mr Fleet perhaps takes यद to refer to king Kṛṣṇa, but in that case it ought to be यस्य, and then only can it be connected with the compound एला—संनिवेशम्

3 Svayambhu-Siva is taken as a compound, but Svayambhu as an adjective of Siva or as a crude ought to have the ending vowel long, while it is short here, and the metre does require a short vowel

4 There is no reason why कृत्रिमं should be regarded as a mistake for कृत्रिमम्

5 When a noun and an adjective are put together, the copula only can be understood between them and not verbs of the potential or conditional mood Mr Fleet, however, understands 'would be' after Srī, and 'if she could be' in connection with दृष्टा.

6 Mr Fleet translates येन as "by reason of it" "Of what?" I would ask, Certainly not, "of his being struck with astonishment,' which is what precedes

7. What could have led the author of the verses to compare "an encampment" with a temple of Śiva? Such a comparison is inappropriate as there is no resemblance.

8 Why should an abode of Śiva be contrasted with an artificially made dwelling; in other words, what is the necessity of denying this attribute of a temple of Siva?

According to my way of taking it the two stanzas form one sentence. The principal clause is येन राज्ञा कीर्तनमकार्यत and the rest are attributive adjuncts of कीर्तन The word कीर्तन has been understood in its usual and etymological sense by Mr Fleet and the first translator; that sense is not at all appropriate here and the word must be taken to signify "a temple" Though the dictionaries do not give this sense, there is no question the word does denote a "temple." Thus in Mr. Telang's Śilāhāra grant, we have

सं(शं)भोर्यो द्वादसा(शा)पि व्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्तनानि(नि).

"Who verily constructed in a short time twelve temples of Śiva"[1] (Ind Ant, Vol IX, p. 34, ll 1-2) The word occurs in other Inscriptions also where it must be interpreted as "a temple."

In the Agni Purāna we have in the Chapter 'on the Construction of Temples,'—

तस्माद्वित्तं समासाद्य दैवाद्वा पौरुषादथ ।
दद्यात्सम्यग्द्विजाग्र्येभ्यः कीर्तनानि च कारयेत् ॥

(Ed. Bib. Ind, Vol I, p 111)

"Therefore having got wealth by luck or by exertion, one should give it in the proper way to the best among the twice-born and cause temples to be constructed"

Similarly in Bāna's Kādambarī, in the description of the victorious march of a prince, we have—

आदिशन्दिशाव्यवस्थाः स्थापयन्स्वचिन्हानि कुर्वन्कीर्तनानि लेखयन् शासनानि...... पृथिवीं विचचार ।

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1 This reference I owe to Mr Telang himself

" He traversed the earth, dictating arrangements for the government of countries, placing his memorials, constructing temples, causing grants to be written, &c. "

In Somesvara's Kīrtikaumudī we have

महतां विद्यमानानां वित्तेनोपकरोति यः ।
स्वर्गतानां जगत्पूर्तकीर्त्तनोद्धरणेन तु ॥

This occurs in the description of Vastupāla in the fourth canto The sense is, " [That Vastupāla] who does good to the great who are living by means of wealth, and to those who are dead by the restoration of dilapidated works of public utility (such as tanks, wells &c) and temples " [1]

The words in the two stanzas before us are to be thus syntactically connected —

यद् एलापुराचलगताद्भुतसंनिवेशम् [कीर्तनम्] वीक्ष्य विस्मितविमानचरामरेन्द्राः "एतद् शिवधाम स्वयंभु ईदृशी श्रीः कृत्रिमे न दृष्टा " इति सततम् बहु चर्चयन्ति, **यस्य** [कीर्तनस्य] कर्ता शिल्पी अपि खलु भूयस्तथाविधकृतौ व्यवसायहानेः "अहो कथम् एतद् मया कृतम् " इति अकस्मात् विस्मयम् आप **तद्** नाम कीर्तनम् येन राज्ञा अकार्यत

Here येन राज्ञा is, like यो and यस्मिन् in the preceding sentences and येन in the following, to be connected with कृष्णराज नृपः in the first sentence in which the description of this king begins It is usual in Sanskrit literature when a description is given, to introduce each sentence by the relative pronoun and make it an attributive adjunct of the subject in the principal sentence, i e , the thing or person described A close translation of this is :—

" [That king] by whom, verily, was caused to be constructed a temple on the hill at Elāpura, of a wonderful structure,—on seeing which the best of immortals who move in celestial cars, struck with astonishment, think much constantly, saying, ' This temple of Siva is self-existent; in a thing made by art such beauty is not seen,'—a temple, the architect-builder of which, in consequence of the failure of his energy as regards [the construction of] another such work, was himself suddenly struck with astonishment, saying, ' Oh, how was it that I built it ! "

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1 My attention was called to this passage by Prof Abaji V Kathavate, of Ahmedabad, who has been editing the Kīrtikaumudī for the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

एला-संनिवेशम् is to be taken as a Bahuvrihi qualifying कीर्तनम् understood; न॒ is an indeclinable adverb meaning "verily;" स्वयमु has its final vowel shortened because it qualifies the neuter noun Śivadhāma

In this passage therefore, Krsnarāja is represented to have caused to be constructed on the hill at Elāpura, a temple of Śiva of extraordinary beauty, and in the next stanza, the idol is spoken of as having been decorated by the king with rubies, gold, and all other precious things Here, too, Mr Fleet translates Yena by "by means of it," but it ought as in the preceding sentence, to be rendered as "by whom," i e, by the king

Now, when the ending pura of names of places undergoes a change in the vernaculars, it becomes ura, and in rare cases ora. Thus we have Chittur for Chitrapura, Indor for Indrapura, Sirur for Śrīpura, Simhur for Simhapura, Nandur or Nandor for Nandipura, Bishnur for Visnupura, Mysore for Mahisapura, Teur (often spelt Tevur) for Tripura, &c Thus then Elāpura should become Elur, and with the termination ka which is the Sanskrit original of the vernacular ending ā, we have Elurā.

It is, therefore, a temple of extraordinary beauty on the hill at Elurā that Krsnarāja, in these two stanzas is said to have caused to be constructed; very likely it was the Kailāsa itself, since it is spoken of with such admiration.

The date of the grant in which Dantidurga is represented to have conquered the Cālukyas and become paramount sovereign is Śaka 675, and Krsnarāja is, in the Radhanapur grant also, spoken of as having wrested the supreme sovereignty from the Cālukyas It therefore appears that Dantidurga died without completing his work, i e, soon after Saka 675, since his successor had to continue it Kisnarāja, therefore, reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka era, i. e, between 753 and 778 A. D

A KALACURI COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM THE BELGAUM DISTRICT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890-94, pp 269ff.]

See the Prefatory remark at the commencement of the Article on page 293, ante, and also page 318, ante.—N. B. U.

The (next) set of three copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which I place before the Society, was put into my hands to be used for historical purposes by my friend Mr D R Natu, LL. B., who is a pleader in the District Court at Belgaum. It was in the possession of the Desai of Kokahnur, a large village about 12 miles to the south-east of Athni, which is a Taluka station in the Belgaum District

Each of the plates is 12½ inches in lengthan d about 9 inches in breadth The lines are engraved breadth-wise and we have the Inscription on one side of the first plate, both sides of the second, and one side of the third The seal has the figure of a bull The nasals in the body of a word are uniformly marked by an Anusvāra, as we do at the present day, and व् always appears in the form of व The Sanskrit of the grant is excellent, including the prose portions, and the poetry is full of very extravagant conceits, which mark a further progress in the degeneration of taste. The name of the composer was Ādityadeva, pupil of Śrīpāda, who calls himself " the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in matters of learning.''

The Inscription records the grant of land measuring four Nivartanas[1] to each of fourteen Brahmans, and a rice-field measuring one Nivartana, and a flower-garden of an equal area, to the god Someśvara for purposes of daily worship, in the village of

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1 Nivartana is defined as equal to 30 Daṇḍas or poles. But a pole is taken to be equal to 10 cubits or 7 cubits. The Daṇḍa in this grant is called Mādadanda, and probably had its own measure,

Battaci in the Kanamvade country by Soma, the son of Vijjana of the Kalacuri dynasty of Kalyāna The grant was made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Kārttika, in the year 1096 of the Śaka era, corresponding to 1174 A D, the cyclic year being Jaya Here I find, instead of the usual expression, "years elapsed since the time of the Śaka king" or "the era of the Śaka king," occurring in the earlier grants, simply "in Saka 1096," which shows that the word Śaka had, about the end of the eleventh century of that era, lost its original signification of "a particular race of foreigners" and come to signify an era generally.

"The Kalacuri family is," it is stated, "famous in the three worlds as a mine of Ksatriya jewels" That it was one of the leading royal families of the Middle Ages is undoubted The kings of Cedi, with whom the later Rāstrakūta princes of the Deccan were connected by marriage, belonged to it Their capital was Tripura the modern Tevur, near Jabalpur, and they held a strong fortress named Kālañjara

The branch to which Soma belonged appears to have been very unimportant. The first person mentioned in the grant before us is Krsna He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and he by his son Paramardin. Paramardin's son was Vijjana, who raised the family to importance. All these chiefs must have been dependents of the Cālukyas of Kalyāna

Vijjana had attained to the position of Dandanāyaka or of Minister of War under Tailapa II, and while he held that office, he rebelled against his master and assumed supreme sovereignty. He is represented in the grant before us to have fought with the Pāndya, the Cola, the Vanga, and the Mālava.

Vijjana was succeeded by his son Soma, upon whom the grant bestows the most extravagant and bombastic praise, making him out to be a paragon of all human and soldierly virtues, and as the wisest and most powerful sovereign But herein we see the anxiety of the composer to show off his own "paramount sovereignty in the domain of learning," to which he laid a claim, and to please the reigning monarch, and not his desire to pourtray the truth. And there is not a single particular fact mentioned in the whole

passage But from every indication, it appears that the Kalacuri princes of Kalyāna were never able to consolidate their power; they had not succeeded even in completely dispossessing their masters who still held sway over a part of the country; and the dynasty after a troublous and precarious existence for about 25 years became extinct

There is a village of the name of Badachi, in the vicinity of Athni, about four miles to the north-west of Kokahnur, which in all likelihood is the Batraci of our grant About 24 miles to the north-west of Athni, is a village of the name of Kanavadi, with a population of nearly 3,000 persons, which closely corresponds to the Kanamvade of our grant, and possessed probably in those days sufficient importance to give its name to the country or province [1]

A grant, dated 1105 Saka, by another or the last prince of this dynasty, Singhanadeva, the brother of our Soma, was brought to notice by Dr Fleet in 1875, and published in the Indian Antiquary The composer of it is the same person as that of ours The first verse in it does not occur in the present grant; but the next eleven stanzas are exactly the same and occupy the whole of our first plate Then omitting a further eulogy of Soma, which fills the first side of our second plate, the writer proceeds to his next brother who succeeded him This grant was, it will be seen, issued 9 years after ours

There is one remarkable circumstance concerning the grant before us which deserves notice It was at the instance of a woman that king Soma made the grant In the audience-hall, where were assembled eminent and influential men of his and of other kingdoms, and where persons, proficient in the arts of music and dancing, and men of taste were gathered together, and instrumental music was going on, she sang a beautiful song in a most skilful manner and obtained from the king, who was very much pleased, as a reward, his consent to give the land in charity, and granted it herself on the occasion, but afterwards got the king to do so more formally in the usual manner She is represented to have been dearer to the king than his own life

1 All this local information I owe to Mr Natu.

If so, the question is whether she was his mistress or a married queen. In the first place, the title Devī is affixed to her name and she is called Sāvaladevī This title cannot be given to a mistress. In a Śloka quoted in the Kāvyaprakāsa, we have : ' Now that she (a certain woman) has been raised to the dignity of a Devi, how can she remain in the position of i e , be used as, an attendant " Similarly, in the play of Mālavikāgnimitra, when the chief queen Dhāriṇī is going to give Mālavikā in marriage to the king, the Vidūsaka on behalf of the latter, requests Dhāriṇī to confer on her the title of Devī before she could be accepted, and it is given to her in all formality The title Devī, therefore, is applied to queens only Again, Sāvaladevī was, according to the grant, Tilottamā herself in beauty, the very Sarasvatī in singing, and Pārvatī in Saubhāgya Saubhāgya is a word peculiarly used in the case of a woman, and signifies her good fortune in having her husband living and enjoying his kind regards At the same time, being compared with Pārvatī in this respect, Sāvaladevī must have been a married queen, since Pārvatī was the married wife of Śiva We are also told that " Sāvaladevī's father was Mailugi, and her mother Malhaṇī , and in consequence of the virtuous deeds of these two meritorious persons, such a jewel as Sāvaladevī was born Her sister was one Bāvaladevī, the store of beauty and grace, and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the musical instruments, especially on the Brahmavīṇā, and was skilled in beating time " Now, if Sāvaladevī had been a mistress, all these her relations would not have been brought in to share her disgrace And persons in that position are generally illegitimate children ; wherefore we should not expect a mention of the father's name in such cases Besides, the whole matter about her asking the king's consent to give land in charity only as a reward, and making him grant it formally after she had herself done so first, points to her position as a wife.

There is, therefore, no doubt that Sāvaladevī was a married queen of Soma ; and, if so, we have evidence here that in the last quarter of the twelfth century of the Christian era, music and dancing formed a part of the education of Kṣatriya girls, and that a married Ksatriya woman could be present at an assembly of emi-

nent men and sing before them without impropriety. The strict Purdah System, which the Maratha princes and chiefs observe at the present day, and which even the most highly educated among them have not the courage to give up, did not exist in those days.

TRANSCRIPT

I.

ऽस्वस्ति । निर्विघ्नं पातु विश्वस्य गोप्ता स धरणीधरः ।
धर्मद्रुहां दमयिता देवस्त्यागचतुर्भुजः । अस्ति क्ष-
त्रियरत्नानामाकरः सागरायते ॥ कुलं कलचु-
रीत्याख्यं विख्यातं भुवनत्रये । तदन्ववाये राजाभूत्कृष्णः कृ-
ष्ण इवापरः । अपि बालस्य चरितमद्भुतं यस्य गीयते । स जोगम-
महीपालं कालं वैरिमहीभुजां । वीरैकवन्द्यमहसा पात्रं पुत्रमजी-
जनत् । दाक्षिण्यजलधेस्तस्मात्क्षीरोदादिव चन्द्रमाः । अजायत
जगत्कांतः परमर्द्दिमहीपतिः । तस्मान्मेरोरिवाशेषव्यापि-
ना तेजसा निधिः । उदितः सुभटादित्यो विज्जणः पृथिवीपतिः ॥
स च । आचक्राम न का दिशं न बुभुजे कं देशमुन्मूलयांचक्रे कं
न्न (न) रिपुं बभार न रिपूनप्याश्रितान्कानिह संचिक्ये न धनानि कानि
न ददौ किं दानमर्जि मखैः कैन्नीय गुणरत्नरोहणगिरिः श्री-
विज्जणक्ष्मापतिः । चाडद्यं पांड्यस्त्यजति भजते चोलभूपश्चलत्वं
भंगं वंगः सरति भरते मालवः कालशंकां । भूपाश्चान्ये जं(ज?)यति
जगती विज्जणक्षोणिपाले किन्नो (किं नो) दुर्गं जहाति जिहते कां दि-
शं कांदिशिकाः । सर्व्वाशातिमिरं नुदन्मुकुलयन्सर्व्वद्विषद्भूभुजां ह-
स्ताम्भोजततीर्जगद्धवलयन्सर्व्वं स्वकीर्त्त्योजसा सर्व्वोर्वीधरमूर्द्धपी-
ठनिहितश्रीपादरम्योदयो राजा सोम उदैत्कलानिधिरितः पू-
र्णस्फुरन्मंडलः । वार्ता कैवरणोच्छ(त्स)वेषु निनदद्भेरीरवे भैरवे
दूष्येषु द्रुघणाहतेरपि कृतैस्तैः कालकोलाहलैः यद्यात्रा-
सु विदुद्रुवुर्भ्रे रिपवः के देशकोशत्यजः केषां वा न विदीर्य-
ते स्म हृदयं मूर्छानिमीलद्द(दृ)शां । हेलाहेषितनादभारभरिता
दीर्ण्णा यदष्टौ दिशो धूताश्वाश्वखुराहतैः परिचलत्कीला
यदष्टौ नगाः । तत्तादृग्रिपुराजवीजदहनप्रस्थानवेलास्थि-
तिं जानीते यदि शेष एष सुकृती भूभारसर्वंसहः । यत्र पितरी-
व पातरि यम इव यंतरि जनो हि दंडधरे लोकद्वयोचितानां सौ-

II.—First side..

ख्यानां पारदृश्वाभूत: (।) यस्योदग्रपराक्रमस्य सत-
तं दिग्जैत्रयात्रोत्सवे स्व:सिंधोस्तटिनीति नाम घ-
टयत्यन्वर्थमेतद्रज: । त्वंगत्तुंगतुरंगनिष्ठुरखुरप्रक्षे-
पविक्षोभितक्षोणीपीठहठप्ररूढमाचिरात्ताम्यत्स्वराशश्यु-
ति । यस्य च अप्रतिमसाहसस्य । भूभृन्मूर्द्धसु लीनवत्यसिलता-
धाराधरे दुर्द्धरे धारासारपुर:सरं विगलिता: कीलालकूलं-
कषा: । तासु द्वैपकरोटिनीभिरसुहृत्तृ (त्त्र)टयद्रजाग्निकैभ्रम्य-
न्नेष मदाधभूतनिवहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति । यस्योदारगु-
णोन्नतस्य जरयत्याकाशगंगामदं हर्षं प्रोच्छति देवदंति-
दशनच्छायाकदंबोद्गते: । कैलासस्य भियं पिपर्ति जन-
यत्यातंकमिंदोरपि क्षीराब्धेरपि कौतुकं वितनुते नित्या-
वदातं यश: । संन्ना(ना)होन्नतवाग्विषसुभगं दृष्ट्वैव यस्याद्भुतं रू-
पं नाट्यगवक्रविक्रमनिधेरारादमी विद्विष: । रोमाचांदिभि-
रामुवंति दशमीं भावैरवस्थामित: स्वीवत्तत्कतमो न वेद त-
दिदं लोकोत्तरं पौरुषं । व्यापि दोर्द्दलसार्वभौमयशस:
किं ब्रूमहे यन्महेशानोपि स्वयमीश्वरो नहि तनूरष्टौ विवेक्तुं
निजा: । लोका: किं च हसंति संप्रति परे चाद्रं मदोत्सेकत: क्षी-
रोदेन समं च किं च कलहायन्ते षडप्यब्धय: । यस्यासिधारां धा-
रां च वीरे वितरणेथ वा । कृतकृत्या न के जाता: प्रार्थ प्रत्यर्थिनो-
र्थिन: । गगनादपि नि:संगमुदधेरपि दुर्गमं । यत्साहसमनौप-
म्याद्भूष्टवंत उदासते । यश:प्रशस्तयो यस्य या: सता चित्तभि-
त्तिषु । न माति माति ता: कुत्र दिक्षु वा गगनेथवा । इमं तमिति
किं ब्रूम: सर्वमाक्रामति स्म य: । निधि: स तेजसा देव: कं देशं
नाश्नुते करै: । वर्तमानेषु का वार्ता यस्मिन्विश्वस्य गोचरे । ता-
दृश: क्षत्रियो लोके न जातो न जनिष्यते । तस्य गीतकला·

II—Second Side

प्रौढिचमत्काराहृतात्मन: । राज्ञ: सावल-
देवीति प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियाभवत् । गंगाप्रवाह-
वद्यस्या: शारीरामृतमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं त्रिमार्गशुद्धमाह्लादि सर्व-
पापक्षयावहं । रूपे तिलोत्तमा सैव सैव गीते सरस्वती ।
सौभाग्ये पार्वती सैव त्यागे कल्पलता स्वयं । यत्पिता मे-

लगिन्नाम यन्माता मल्हणीत्यभूत् । तयोर्गुणवतोः पुण्यै-
रिदृग्रत्नमजायत । यस्या वाच(च?)लदेवीति रूपसौभाग्ययो-
र्निधिः भगिनी गीतनृत्यादिकलाकौशलशालिनी । यद्भ्रा-
ता भैरवो नाम यंत्रे गात्रे कृतश्रमः । विशेषाद्ब्रह्मवीणायां
तालमानविचक्षणः । सा कदाचिदतिप्रौढगायनगाय-
नी वांशिकवैणिकमार्दलिकपाणविकादिगांधर्वसं-
प्रदायनिर्भरे महाऽस्थाने भरतादिकलाकुशलेषु भावकर-
सिकरंजकेषु स्वमंडलपरमंडलप्रधानव(प)रुषेषूपविष्टेषु आ-
हितस्थानप्राप्तितारमंद्रव्यवस्थस्य प्रकटितस्फुरितकंपिता-
दिसप्तविधगमकस्य स्फुटललितकोमलपदस्यासंकीर्ण-
तनियुक्तस्य गाणगलपाशाभिधानस्य ध्रोव्व(व?)ड(ह?)स्य गानात्प-
रितुष्टस्य नलनहुषभरतभगीरथप्रभृतीनपि पुराणपुण्य-
क्षत्रियान्वीरवितरणादिभिर्गुणैः प्रगुणैरतिशयानस्य म-
हाराजस्य पारितोषिकलब्धया परस(म)यानुमत्या प्रशस्ते दे-
शे काले स्वयं दत्तमपि षण्णवत्यधिकसहस्रतमे शके ज-
यसंवत्सरे कार्त्तिकशुक्लद्वादश्यां बृहस्पतिवाररेवती-
नक्षत्रव्यतीपातयोगववकरणयुक्तायां सर्वविद्या-
निधिभ्यः सदाचारपरिपूतेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यश्चतुर्द्द-
शब्राह्मणेभ्य कर्णवडेदेशांतर्गतवट्टचिनामधेये

III

ग्रामे माडदंडेन चत्वारि चत्वारि निवर्तनानि
देवदेवाय च श्रीसोमनाथाय नित्यपूजानिमित्तं
निवर्तनमेकं कलमक्षेत्रं तावती च पुष्पवाटिका
राज्ञा राजकीयैरप्यनंगुलिप्रेक्षणीयं(प्रक्षेपणीयं)सर्व्वनमस्यं कृत्वा
तेनैव महाराजाधिराजेन परमभक्तिश्रद्धापूतमनसा पुन-
र्धारापूर्वकं दापितवती । अस्य च धर्म्मस्य रक्षणे फलमिति
ह स्माहुः प्राचस्तपोमहिमसाक्षात्कृतधर्म्मगतयो महर्षि-
यः । बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । धनं धान्यं हिरण्यं च रत्नानि
विविधानि च । दानान्यन्यानि राजेंद्र ददाति वसुधां ददत् । अ-
ग्निष्टोमादिभिर्यज्ञैर्ये यजंति सदक्षिणैः । प्राप्नुवंति न
तत्पुण्यं भूमिदानाद्यदाप्यते । विपर्यये च त एव विपरीत-

फलमाप्नोति सः । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्टिं
व(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः । परदत्तां तु यो भू-
मिमुपहिंसेत्कदाचन । स बद्धो वारुणैः पाशैः(शैः)क्षिप्यते पूयशोणिते ।
अत एव च तत्र भवद्भिर्व्या(र्व्या)सपरास(श)रप्रभृतिभिः साक्षात्कृतस-
कलधर्मतत्वैस्त्रैकाल्यदर्शिभिः महर्षिभिः प्रणीतासु सतीष्वपि
स्मृतिषु साक्षादेव श्रुतिषु चोच्चावचासु धर्मोपदेशाय जागरू-
कासु पुनरपीरनोषानि(न्नि)जसदाचारोदाहरणदर्शनेन सर्वासाम-
प्यमूषां मानुषीणां प्रजानामवोधाधतमसापनिनीषया लोकस्य
भाग्येनावतीर्णः स्वयमेव भगवान्नारायणः श्रीरामनामधेयः
स्वनिर्मितस्यापि धर्मस्य कालातरेऽन्यथाभावशंकातंकतरलितो
विनयोदारमधुरया संक्षिप्तसुभगया सरस्वत्या भविष्यतः क्षत्रियश्रो-
त्रियान्सांजलिबंधमेवमभ्यर्थयांचक्रे ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृप-
णां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भू-
योभूयो याचते रामचं(चं)द्रः । शांकव्युत्पत्तिसंपन्न(न्न)विद्वच्छ्रीपादसे-
विना । रचितादि-

त्यदेवेन सेयं शासनपद्धतिः । कृतिरियं त्रिभुवन । व(वि)द्याचक्रवर्त्तिनः श्रीम-
दादित्यदेवस्य । मंगलमहाश्री ॥

TRANSLATION

Welfare! May the God, the protector of the Universe, the support of the earth, and the chastiser of the enemies of virtue, who has four hands for giving, protect safely! There is a family known by the name of Kalacuri, famous in the three worlds, which is as it were the ocean being a repository of jewels in the shape of [excellent] Ksatriyas In that race flourished a king [named] Krsna, who was as it were another Krsna, and whose wonderful deeds, done when he was but a child, are sung. He gave birth to a son, king Jogama, who was death to inimical princes, [and] the receptacle of prowess which is admired by heroes alone From him who was the ocean of civility, was born king Paramarddi[n], charming to the world, as the moon is from the ocean of milk. From him, as from the Meru, rose king Vijjana, the sun in the shape of a good soldier and (like the sun)

the store of glory which pervaded everything What quarter did king Vijjana, the mountain on which jewels in the shape of virtues grew, not overrun? What country did he not enjoy (rule over), what enemy did he not extirpate? What enemies, who had sought an asylum with him, did he not protect? What kind of wealth did he not accumulate? What gift did he not give, what sacrifices did he not perform? When king Vijjana was conquering the world, the Pāndya gave up his fierceness, the Cola king took to his heels, the Vanga fled away, the Mālava suspected him to be Death himself; and what stronghold did other kings not leave, and what quarter did the cowards not fly to? From him rose king Soma the moon, in the full state of a Sovereign like the latter when full and bright, who was the abode of all arts as the latter is of the digits, dispelling the darkness of all quarters, closing [folding] the lotuses in the shape of the hands of all inimical princes, whitening the whole world by the lustre of his fame, with his rise made charming on account of his graceful feet being placed on the stool-like heads of all kings, as that of the moon is rendered charming by the rays falling on the tops of all mountains[1] What enemies did not bolt away, abandoning their country and treasure during his marches, by the noises like those on the occasion of universal destruction, made by the striking of maces in his tents? Whose hearts did not break (through fear) with their eyes closed in a swoon? What talk then can there be as regards the dreadful noise of the drums in the festivals of fight? The blessed Sesa alone, who bears the whole burden of the earth, knows, if at all, the condition of things on the occasion of those marches of his for burning the very seed of kings who were his enemies, when the eight quarters, resonant with the noise of the playful neighing of the horses were shattered, and the eight mountains were dislocated from their rivets by the tramping of the hoops of horses. While he is protecting the people like a father and governing them like Yama the chastiser (the god of justice), they have experienced all the happiness of the two worlds. In his joyous expeditions for the conquest of the quarters, full of great valour as he is, the dust, raised forcibly

1 सोम, उर्वीधर and the rest have two senses, one fitting with the moon and the other with king Soma.

from the surface of the earth, agitated by the violent stamping of the hoops of the tall bounding horses, which bedims the lustre of the sun, always makes the name Taṭinī (having banks, i e, a river) of the celestial river literally true. Of unparalleled daring as he is, when the irresistible cloud, in the shape of his sword, rested on the summits of mountains in the shape of heads of kings, showers in the shape of the drops [of blood] from the edge of the sword poured down first and then flowed rivers of blood ; in those rivers the maddened crowd of beings rambles in boats made of the skulls of elephants by [using as] oars the arms of his enemies which were chopped off, and has not yet ceased Exalted as he is by his sublime virtues, his ever pure (white) fame humbles the pride of the heavenly Ganges, mars the beauty of the colour intensified manifold of the tusk of the elephant of the gods, inspires the Kailāsa with fear, alarms even the moon, and excites the admiration even of the milky ocean. Seeing from a distance that wonderful form of the store of prowess, graceful on account of the dignified soldierly costume [consisting of] a coat of armour, the enemies, like women, attain to the tenth condition by means of the effects, horripilation and others [1] ; who, therefore, does not know that extraordinary manliness of his ? What shall we say of the omnipresence of his fame as supreme (over all) in the prowess of his arm, when even Śiva himself is not (in consequence of the excessive white light of the fame overspreading all equally) able to distinguish his eight bodies, and the worlds besides through excess of pride [on account of their being illuminated by the white light of his fame] laugh down to scorn the light of the moon, while all the six oceans compete (quarrel) with the milky ocean ? What enemy or beggar, having come in contact with the edge of his sword or of the stream of water (poured by the hand) in warlike or alms-giving deeds, did not attain his end ? Those who have seen his daring, which is more desperate than the sky is unentangled,[2] and more unapproachable than the sea, become despondent on account of

1 There are eight kinds of effects produced in a woman when under the influence of love sweat, stupor, horripilation, &c These are alluded to by the expression "horripilation and others", and there are ten conditions into which a lover is placed successively when his love is not requited, and of which the tenth is death

2 A play upon the word नि:सग

its matchlessness. What can hold the announcements of his deeds? Can the quarters of the sky [do it], when they cannot all be accommodated on the walls [in the shape of] the minds of the good? How can we say "here is he," since he pervades all (space)? What place is there which that lord, the store of glory, does not reach by his hands or his taxes? While he is the protector of the Universe, (one can say that) such a Ksatriya was never born or will be born, and what talk then can there be about such a one being among the existing ones? As the heart of the king was charmed by the beautiful performances of skill in the art of singing, one Sāvaladevī (Queen Sāvala) was dearer to him than his life Like the stream of the Ganges, the nectar (-like complexion) of her body was bright, pure in the three ways, delightful, and destructive of all sins In beauty she was Tilottamā herself, in singing she was the very Sarasvatī, in good luck (the regards of her husband) she was Pārvatī herself, and in bounty the celestial creeper itself Her father was Mailugi by name and her mother was one Malhanī, in consequence of the virtuous deeds of those two meritorious (persons), such a jewel was born Her sister was one Bāvaladevī, the store of beauty and grace (or good luck), and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the instruments and the body, especially in the Brahmavīnā, and was skilled in the beating of time On one occasion while she was singing skilfully in the great audience-hall, in which the customary music of the flute, the lute, the drum, and the Panava was going on, and in which were sitting eminent men of that and other kingdoms, who were proficient in the arts of Bharata and others and appreciated the principal and subordinate sentiments and could entertain others, she sang a Dhromvattha, called Gānagalapāsa, without previous arrangement (i e ex tempore), in a manner to have a high or low pitch according to the note used as a base, to bring out the seven kinds of Gamaka, such as throbbing and tremor, and to render the graceful and soft words distinct; and obtained from the great king who was pleased,—the great king who surpassed, by the pre-eminent virtues of bravery and bounty, the old virtuous Ksatriyas, Nala, Nahusa, Bharata, Bhagīratha and others—his consent [to

give land in charity] as a reward, and herself gave at an auspicious place and time, and (afterwards) caused that same sovereign lord of great kings, whose mind was purified by great faith and devotion, to give by pouring water on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika, the day being Thursday, the constellation Revatī, the Yoga Vyatipāta, and the Karana, Bava, in Saka one thousand and ninety-six, to fourteen Brahmans of different Gotras, who were stores of all lores and purified by their righteous conduct, four Nivartanas of land, each measured by the Māda pole in a village of the name of Battaci, in the country of Kanamvade, and to Śrī-Somanātha, the god of gods, a field of rice measuring one Nivartana and a flower garden of the same area for everyday worship; the grant not to be touched by the finger even, by the king or the officers of the king, and to be respected by all The ancients, who by the force of their holy austerities directly perceived the results of good deeds, thus speak of the fruit of the maintenance of such a charity · "The earth has been enjoyed by many princes, Sagara and others, the fruit accrues to him to whom the earth belongs and at that time when it so belongs O best of kings, by giving land one gives money, grain, gold, various kinds of jewels, and other gifts Those who perform the Agnistoma and other sacrifices giving Daksinā, do not acquire that merit that is attained by giving land" When it is otherwise, they have laid down the opposite fruit "He who resumes the land given by him or by others becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years He who ever transgresses the [grant of] land given by others, is bound by the chains of Varuna and thrown into pus and blood" Hence the blessed Nārāyana himself of the name of Rāma, who became incarnate through the good fortune of the world, to remove the darkness of ignorance of these human beings by setting them an example in his own virtuous conduct, not being satisfied though there were Smrtis composed by the revered great Rsis, Vyāsa, Parāsara, &c, who had a direct perception of the essence of all righteous behaviour and saw [the occurrences of] the three times (past, present, and future), and though there were the very Śrutis themselves, great and small, ever watchful to give instruction in righteousness, thus solicited future Ksatriya sages in words exceedingly sweet through humility, brief and graceful, being disquieted by the fear of the [path

of] duty laid down by himself becoming corrupt in the course of time : " 'This is a bridge of righteousness common to all kings; you should, therefore, protect it from time to time,' Ramacandra thus entreats all these future kings again and again" This charter has been composed by Ādityadeva, who waits at the feet of the learned Śrīpāda, possessing power (genius) and culture. This is the work of the prosperous Ādityadeva, the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in [matters of] Learning. Auspicious glory !

A SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM CENTRAL JAVA.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVII, Part II, 1887-89, pp 1ff.]

TRANSCRIPT

१. नमो भगवत्यै आर्यतारायै ॥ या तारयत्यमितदुःखभवाब्धिमग्नं लोकं विलोक्य विधि-
वत्त्रिविधैरु-

२. पायैः । सा वः सुरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिस[ा]रं तारा दिशत्वभिमतं जगदेकतारा ॥ आवर्ज्य
महाराजं - - - -

३ पणं पणंकरणं । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं हि कारितं श्रीमत् ॥ गुर्वाज्ञया कृतज्ञैस्तारा देवी

४. कृतापि तद्भवनम । विनयमहायानविदां भवनं चाप्यार्यभिक्षूणाम् ॥ पङ्कुरतवानतीरिप-

५. नामभिरादेशशास्तिभी राज्ञः । ताराभवनं कारितमिदमपि चाप्यार्यभिक्षूणा ॥ राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा-

६. ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवम्मतनुजस्य । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥ शकनृप-
कालातीतै-

७. र्वर्षशतैः सप्तभिर्महाराजः अकरोद्गुरुपूजार्थं ताराभवनं पणंकरणः ॥ ग्रामः कालग
(शा?) नामा

८. दत्तः संघाय साक्षिणः कृत्वा । पङ्कुरतवानतीरिपदेशाध्यक्षान्महापुरुषान् । भूद-

९. क्षिणेयमतुला दत्ता संघाय राजसिंहेन । शैलेन्द्रवर्मभूपैरनुपरिपाल्यार्यसन्तत्या ॥

१०. सुणपङ्कुरादिभि सतवानकादिभिः । सुणतीरिपादिभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधुभिः ॥
अपि च ॥

११. सर्वानेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः । सामान्योयन्धर्म्मसेतुर्न-

१२. राणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जातार्थवि-
भागक(वि)-

१३. ज्ञाः भवन्तु सर्वं विभवोपपन्ना जना जिनानामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ कार(लि?)यानपणं-
करणः श्री-

१४. मानभियाचतेत्र भाविनृपान् । भूयो भूयो विधिवद्विहारपरिपालनार्थमिति ।

TRANSLATION

Salutations to the blessed, the noble Tārā ! May Tārā the only Saviour[1] of the Universe, who, seeing men sunk in the sea

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1 This may also be translated as "the only star of the Universe"

of life which is full of immeasurable misery, formally delivers them by [resorting to] the three[1] means, give you the desired essence of the glory of the world of the Lord of the gods, and of men Having prevailed upon the great King Panamkarana by

the Preceptor of King Sailendra[2] caused a splendid temple of Tārā to be constructed At the command of the Preceptor, the grateful ones made [an image of] the goddess Tārā and constructed that temple and also a house (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests (Bhiksus) who knew the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) of discipline By the king's mandate issued in the names of Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisa,[3] the temple of Tārā was caused to be constructed and also this (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests The meritorious Preceptor of King Śailendra constructed the temple of Tārā during the prosperous reign of the king, the son of Śailendravarma The great King Panamkarana built the temple of Tārā to do honour to the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed A village of the name of Kolaga(sa?) has been granted to the congregation, the eminent men and leaders[4] of the

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1 The Upāyas or means are three. (See Dharmasamgraha, Max Muller's Ed, CXI)

2 Śailendra, literally means "the lord of mountains," and the phrase, Śailendrarāja may be translated as "king of the mountainous country" But it must be taken here as the name of a king He is called Śailendravarma in the sixth line, of which name the latter part varma is the usual affix of the names of Ksatriyas, and his son is represented as reigning at the time when the temple was built In the ninth line the plural of the name with the word bhūpa added to it is used, and the phrase literally means "the kings Sailendravarmas" This could be taken as the plural honorific, but at the time when the Inscription was cut, Śailendra was not on the throne, but his son wherefore the plural is to be understood in the sense of "the descendants of Śailendra." It will be seen in the Remarks that I identify Śailendra with the prince Śela Prawat, whose name occurs in one of the lists given by Sir Stamford Raffles

3 These are un-Sanskrit names, and must be the titles in old Javanese of the leading men or officers of districts and villages resembling the hereditary officers of India They are spoken of as Deśādhyaksas or "leaders of the country" below

4 See the above note

country, Pankura, Tavāna, and Tīrisa being called to witness. This incomparable Daksinā (gratuity) in the shape of land has been granted to the congregation by the lion-like king. It should be continued by the kings [of the race of] Śailendravarma to successive bodies of the honoured ones (Bhiksus), and by the wise[1] Pankura and others, the good Tavāna and others, the wise Tīrisa and others, and the virtuous foot-soldiers Moreover, the lion-like king again and again begs of all future kings, that this bridge in the shape of charities which is common to all men should be preserved by them from time to time By the religious merit resulting from this monastery, may all people who follow the teaching of the Jinas derive a knowledge of the divisions of things produced by the chain[2] of causes, and attain prosperity ! The prosperous Kaliyāna[3] Panamkarana begs again and again of future kings to preserve the monastery in the proper manner

REMARKS

I place before the Society to-day a photograph of a Sanskrit Inscription found in Central Java, together with a modern Nāgari transcript and an English translation The photograph was sent to me from Batavia by Mr Baumgarten, who takes great interest in Oriental studies The Inscription is cut on a slab of stone, and the length is 67 centimetres and breadth 46 The characters resemble those of North-Indian Inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries, being a good deal like those in the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III dated 730 Saka or 808 A D, the grant of Vākpatirāja of the year 1031 Samvat corres-

1 The word which I read Sunna must be a word expressive of praise as Sat is, which is used in connection with Tavāna, and Sādhu which is applied to the Pattis. It seems to be the Prakrit of the Sanskrit Sujña

2 Twelve things are mentioned in the Buddhistic treatises, each subsequent one of which is produced from each preceding, and this constitutes the chain of causes and effects, upon which depends the worldly existence of man When this chain is known and efforts are made to destroy the first link, a man is free from worldly existence and attains Nirvāṇa. The technical term by which this causation is known is Pratītyotpāda (Dharmasamgraha, Max Müller's Ed , pp 9 and 43).

3 This is another name of the king See the " Remarks "

ponding to 975 A D, and the Inscription at Deval in Rohilkhand, dated 1049 Samvat or 993 A D; while the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an Inscription found at Ghosrāvan, near the old city of Nālandā in Magadha or Bihar, which I translated for Mr Broadly in 1872,[1] and which is to be referred to about the middle of the ninth century.

The Inscription is in verse The first stanza is in the Vasantatilakā metre, one in the middle is a Samānikā without the last or eighth syllable, two about the end are in the Śālinī and Upendravajrā metres; and the remaining eight are Āryās. That in the Śālinī metre is the same as the one which occurs in some North-Indian and also South-Indian copperplate grants; only, the first half of the Indian Śloka is here made the second half, and we have Rājasimhah instead of Rāmabhadrah.

The Inscription opens with salutations to the Buddhistic goddess Tārā; and in the first stanza she is praised and her blessings invoked Then we are told that the Guru or Preceptor of King Śailendra, having established his influence over the great King Panamkarana, caused a splendid temple of Tārā to be constructed in the reign of the son of King Śailendravarma Panamkarna built the temple of Tārā out of respect for the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed. This temple and also a monastery for the mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna school referred to by the pronoun "this", were erected after a royal mandate had been issued in the names of the Pankura, Tavāna, and Tīrisa A village of the name of Kolaga or Kolasa was granted as Daksinā to the congregation of the priests, and the same Pankura, Tavāna, and Tīrisa, who are here spoken of as Deśādhyaksas or the leading men, or rather the constituted authorities of the country, are called to witness the grant Then follows the charge usual in Indian charters of this nature to future kings to continue the grant and preserve the monastery.

Of these two buildings, the monastery is that which is called

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1 Published in Vol XLI, JASB, Part I, p. 271 [and printed later in this Volume].

Chandi Kali Sari by Sir Stamford Raffles and described by him in his History of Java (Second Ed, Vol II, p 25). "The external appearance of this edifice is," he says, "really very striking and beautiful The composition and execution of its outer surface evinces infinite taste and judgment, indefatigable patience, and skill Nothing can exceed the correctness and minute beauties of the sculpture throughout, which is not merely profuse, but laboured and worked up to a pitch of peculiar excellency scarcely suitable to the exterior of any building" Again —"On entering the building, the mind of every one must be fully satisfied that it was never constructed for, or dedicated to, mere religious purposes The arrangement is entirely adapted to the domestic residence of a great Hindu chieftain or rājā" But we now see from the Inscription that it was not the residence of a great Hindu rājā, but the residence of the priests of the Buddhist Mahāyāna school

The temple of Tārā is described by Sir Stamford under the name of Chandi Kali Bening (Vol II, p 27) "This ruin," he says, "is of the same general form and appearance as the larger temples at Chandi Sewa and Zoro Jongran, but on a closer examination, is found to be superior to the whole, in the delicate and minute correctness of execution of all its decorative parts" I submit to the Society the photographs of these two buildings which Mr Baumgarten has kindly sent to me

It is somewhat difficult to determine the relations between the prince Sailendra whose Preceptor caused the temple to be constructed, and his son during whose reign it was constructed, on the one hand, and Panamkarana, the monarch, who constructed it and made the grant of land, on the other Sailendra and his son are spoken of as Rājās merely, while Panamkarana is styled Mahārāja, wherefore it is possible that he was a paramount sovereign whose feudatories were Śailendra and his son But taking all things into consideration, I think it best to take Panamkarana himself as the son of Sailendra, though I should have expected his name in the clause "during the prosperous reign of the son of Śailendra," which occurs in the Inscription

In one of the lists of the Hindu sovereigns of Java given by Sir Stamford Raffles (p. 87, Vol. II), on the authority of Manus-

cripts found in the eastern parts of Java, the name Śela Prawat occurs Prawat is evidently the Sanskrit Parvata or "mountain," which means the same thing as Śaila This Śaila appears to be the same monarch as the Śailendra of our Inscription. The date of his accession given in the MSS is 756 of the Javanese or Śaka era, while, according to our Inscription, he must have ceased to reign before 700 Śaka in which year his son was on the throne. But this small discrepancy must be regarded as confirming the identification rather than militating against it, for a mere tradition such as that recorded in the Manuscripts, cannot to be expected to be perfectly accurate Or, it is possible that the Inscription gives only the hundreds of the number representing the date, omitting the tens and units

The name of the next king given in the list is Kandiawan or Jaya Langkara Kandiawan appears to be the same as Kalivāna, which, in the last stanza of the Inscription, is prefixed to the name Panamkarana Of the second name the first part is a mere horonic prefix, and Langkara is not unlikely a corruption of namkara which occurs in the name Panamkarana, the first syllable Pa being dropped, and nam changed to Lang as it does even in our Indian languages As in the charters issued by Indian princes the royal mandate is addressed to the Rāstrapatis, Grāmapatis, Āyuktaka, Niyuktaka, &c, that is, to persons invested with authority over villages and districts like the hereditary officers of modern times, so is it in the charter before us But these district and village authorities are here called Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisat These are not Sanskrit words, and must be old Javanese The first of these seems to have been presevered in the modern Pangoran, a title applied to the sons and daughters of sovereigns, according to Raffles (Vol I, p 298) This similarity in the form of the charters points to a similarity of polity in the two countries

According to the united testimony of all who have written about the island, Central Java is full of statues, Inscriptions, and ruins of buildings, all of them vestiges of the flourishing Hindu civilization of the island The sculptures and detailed ornamentation of the finest building, the Boro Buddor, present such close resemblance to those in the Nasik, Ajanta, and Kenari Caves,

that in the opinion of the late Dr Fergusson, it points to an identity of workmanship and workmen. Most of the Inscriptions are in the Kawi or old Javanese dialect, while there are a few which are in Sanskrit like the one before us It is very much to be regretted that many of these have not yet been published, as they are sure to throw considerable light on the obscure history of the island, as our Inscriptions have done on the early history of India

In the Fourth Volume of the Indian Antiquary, (p 356), two small Sanskrit Inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters in which are unmistakably South-Indian, while our Inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgarī characters of the North, especially of Magadha or Bihar, thus showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island The Inscriptions from Cambodia recently published by M Barth are all of them in the South Indian characters, and in all, one or other of the Brahmanic gods, Siva, Visnu, &c, is invoked Cambodia was thus colonized by Hindus from Southern India, and does not seem to have had any considerable Buddhistic population

The Hindu settlements of Java were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India, and Indians went to Java and settled there from time to time The earliest notice of the Hindu civilization of the island which is unquestionably historical is that by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hian, who in 413 A D returned to China from Ceylon by sea, and, on the way, passed five months in a country which he reached at the end of more than ninety days after leaving Ceylon, and which he calls Yepoti Yepoti is the Chinese equivalent of Yavadvīpa, the Sanskrit name of Java. As the island of Sumatra also was by the Mahomedans called " lesser Java, " Dr Fergusson thinks that that was the island visited by Fa-Hian But I agree with Mr Beal in thinking that in all likelihood it was Java itself

In the Yavadvīpa, Fa-Hian tells us " heretics and Brahmans flourished, but the law of Buddha is not much known. " If these Brahmans and heretics established a

colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century, and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgarī letters of the Inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later And our Inscription, as well as the remains of Buddhistic temples and monasteries, show that in the eighth century and even before, there was a large population of the followers of Śākyamuni; but since Fa-Hian says that the law of Buddha was not much known when he visited the island, the Buddhists must have emigrated in large numbers later on In an article by the late Dr Burnell published in The Academy in 1876, that scholar states his view that there was "a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A D, and these took with them a Nāgarī alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character" We now see the existence of this Nāgarī alphabet in the island in the latter part of the eighth century of the Christian era, and also of a large Buddhistic population

In the Sanskrit literature of India, however, so far as it has hitherto been examined, Java is very rarely noticed. The "Yavadvīpa adorned with the seven kingdoms," and Suvarnadvīpa which has been identified with Sumatra have been mentioned in the Kiskindhākānda of the Rāmāyana; and in the Kathāsaritsāgara, Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarnadvīpa and other islands of the name of Nārikela or the cocoanut island, Karpūra or the camphor island, and Katāha. The Kathāsaritsāgara is professedly a translation of or compilation based on Gunādhya's Brhatkathā, a work which must have been composed in the first or second century of the Christian era. If, therefore, this work, which has not yet been recovered, contained a mention of Suvarnadvīpa and some of the other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, the connection of India with those islands must have begun very early And this is confirmed by Fa-Hian's statement in the beginning of the fifth century that Brahmans and heretics flourished in the island.

The traditional accounts of the Javanese refer the foundation of the first Indian colony to a person whom they

call Ādi Śaka or the original Śaka, the founder of the Saka era, which is used in Java Higher antiquity is not claimed for it. It is, of course, difficult to say what the precise meaning of the tradition is; but what appears to me to be, in all likelihood, the true sense is that some princes or chiefs of the Śaka or Scythian race,—which, we know, had established itself in India about the beginning of the Śaka era, and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from the coins and Inscriptions of the Satrap dynasty of Ujjayinī and Kathiawar—established the first Indian Colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India The same enterprising spirit which brought the Śakas into India and led to the establishment of a Śaka monarchy in Sind, Rajputana, and other provinces, must have carried them further to the east

Hinduism did not possess that tenacity in Java which it has shown in India From about the first century before the Christian era to about the beginning of the fourth, many of the Indian provinces were held by foreigners of the Yavana (Bactrian Greek), Śaka, and Palhava races who had settled in the country They, however, did not communicate any new religion to the Hindus, but, on the other hand, adopted either Buddhism or Brahmanism from the Hindus themselves After the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, Brahmanism became more powerful than Buddhism, and flourished till the beginning of the 12th century, by which time the latter had died a natural death But now a new and serious danger threatened the existence of Hinduism The Mahomedans, who show no toleration for other religions, established an empire in India But though they held the country for five centuries and forcibly converted Hindus to Mahomedanism and pulled down their temples, from time to time, when the religious zeal of their princes and chiefs was excited, the only tangible effect of their domination was to add a Mahomedan fraction to the population of India. Mahomedanism did exert an indirect influence over some of the Hindu religious sects, especially by communicating to them a strictly monotheistic tendency; but it was slight. In Java, on the other hand, Mahomedans did not appear as conquerors but as missionaries; but in a short course of time they

succeeded in converting the whole island to their faith, and Hinduism was compelled to take refuge in the small island of Bali, where it flourishes at the present day But with the destruction of Hinduism, the blood of the foreign colonists, who "had persevered for nearly nine centuries in adorning the island with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class, had become," according to Dr Fergusson, "diluted, their race impure, and their energy effete"

And, gentlemen, you will, I hope, allow me, in conclusion, to make a reflection or two which it is almost impossible for an English-knowing Hindu in the present condition of his country to avoid, when engaged on such a subject as this. If from the first century of the Saka era to about the twelfth, Brahmans and other Hindu castes set at naught the prohibition of the Śāstras against crossing the sea, and went on voyages lasting for ninety days and more, there is no reason why they should not do so in this nineteenth century of that era, and go to Europe and America The amount of energy and enterprise that the Hindus of those days displayed, in thus keeping a constant intercourse with Cambodia and the islands of the Archipelago, establishing colonies there, and imparting to the native Polynesians their own civilization, ought, in the midst of a great deal in our present condition that is very discouraging, to fill us with hope as to the innate capacities of our race If, according to the interpretation I have ventured to put on the Javanese tradition, it was in consequence of their contact with the Śakas that the Indian Āryas first showed those qualities, we have by our side at the present day the sturdy Anglo-Saxon to spur us on Let us accept his guidance and leadership with a willing heart, and move on in all the fields of human activity, not excepting the one the achievements of our ancestors in which we have been considering.

A NOTE ON THREE BRICKS* WITH IMPRESSIONS OF FIGURES AND LETTERS ON THESE FOUND AT TAGOUNG, SOME 200 MILES ABOVE MANDALAY IN BURMA

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XX, 1902, pp 106ff]

(Communicated to the Society in July 1898)

Nos I and II of these bricks contain three figures, the middle one sitting in an attitude of meditation with the right hand touching the earth, and the two at the sides standing They are enclosed in shrines, and the vacant space is filled with representations of Stūpas The sitting figure represents Buddha and the two at the sides probably represent his chief disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalāyana speaking or lecturing The third brick contains only one figure in a shrine which represents Buddha sitting in a meditative attitude as in the others, and the vacant space at the sides and above is filled with Stūpas, the two at the sides being much larger than those above or in the other two bricks Below the figure there are letters in relief, which, together with the figures, were impressed on the clay by means of a matrix They form the well-known Buddhist formula in the Āryā metre. The following are transcripts :—

No I

ये धे[1]मा हेतुपहवा तेसा[2] हेतु[3] तथागतो [वो] (च)

तेमा[4] च यो निगेधा[5] एवंवादी महा[स](म)णो

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, read respectively ध, सा, तुं: सा, धो The letters which are indistinct are enclosed within rectangular brackets The letters which have dropped out or are obliterated are enclosed within circular brackets

No II

[ये] धे[1]मा हेतुपहवा तेमां[2] हेतु[3] तथागते वोच

तेमा[4] च यो [निरो] धा[5] एवं[6] वादी[7] मई[8](म)[म]णा[9]

Read ध, मा, तु, सा, धो, वं, दी, हा, णो respectively for the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c.

* Forwarded by Lieut A Willock

No. III.

[ये] धं[1]मा हे[2]तुपहवा तेसा[3] हे[तु[4]] त [था]

गतो [वो] च तेसाँ[5] च यो निरोधं[6]

[एवं[7]वादी] महा [सम]र्ण[8]

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c , read respectively ध, हे, सां, तुं सां, धो, व, णो.

This formula occurs in Buddhistic sculptures discovered in India, and it was often impressed on clay by means of a seal as in the numerous specimens found in one of the Keneri caves (JBBRAS, VI, 157, Pl VII, a, b, c, d), at Valabhī (Ind Ant , I, 130 ; JBBRAS, XI, 334) and other places in Northern India. It however mostly occurs in its Sanskrit form, and is as follows :—

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।

तेषां च यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥

As impressed on the bricks under notice, it is in the Pali language Here we have तेसां before हेतु, and वोच, the Pali form of the Sanskrit अवोचत, for हि and अवदत The formula gives succinctly Buddha's method of Salvation. He traced the misery of worldly existence to certain causes and pointed out the way of counteracting or destroying those causes and thus attaining to bliss The formula may be thus translated —

" The Tathāgata explained the cause of those matters which spring from a cause and [the mode of] its destruction. This was what the Great Ascetic taught "

The form of the letters on the bricks resembles that which prevailed in Northern India in the eighth century of the Christian Era The bricks therefore are not older than that century.

It deserves to be noticed that one of the clay impressions *found at Keneri and given by Mr West in his article* resembles the figure and the Stūpa ornaments in the bricks before us, and the formula also is in Pali, except that we have प्प for प in the fourth word. There is also the verb वच for वोच instead of the ह्यवदत् of the Sanskrit form This is almost a unique instance of

the occurrence of the Pali formula in Indian monuments That we find it mostly in Sanskrit is to be accounted for by the fact that it was composed or came into general use about or after the time when the Pali ceased to be the sacred language of Indian Buddhism. In the bricks under notice it occurs in the Pali form because the language of Buddhistic Literature in Burma has always been Pali.

ON DR. HOERNLE'S VERSION OF A NASIK INSCRIPTION AND THE GĀTHĀ DIALECT

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, 1883, pp 139ff]

In the middle of 1874 I spent about six weeks in deciphering and translating the Inscriptions in the caves at Nasik, and prepared a paper and submitted it to the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in that year The paper has been published in the Transactions of the Congress [1] The reading of those Inscriptions was a work of great difficulty, since some of them are in the Pali or Prakrit dialect, and others contain a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit The letters, too, in several of them, are faintly cut I could derive very little assistance from the labours of my predecessor in the field, for, except the one which is almost entirely in Sanskrit, the Inscriptions were misread by him I could, therefore, never look upon my work as final, and was aware of its imperfections Besides, the paper was printed in London, and as I could look over one proof only, there are a good many misprints I have, therefore, long been thinking of revising the paper, and publishing it separately ; but no opportunity has yet presented itself, and I now learn that Dr Buhler has re-read and re-translated the Inscriptions What I have been able to do is to re-write my remarks on the relations between the Āndhrabhṛtyas and the Satrap kings ; and these I have embodied in a paper I have written for the Bombay Gazetteer [2] Since the time my translations appeared in the Transactions of the Congress, I have found one or two better readings proposed by other scholars Similarly there is one proposed by Dr Hoernle in his paper, published in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, pp 27ff, to which I should attach great weight if I were to revise the paper But that scholar has at the same time found fault with my translation of the Inscription, which is the subject of his paper, and which is one of the easiest in the series He thinks I have

1 It has been included in Volume I of this Edition —N B U

2 This 'paper' is the "Early History of the Deccan" included in this Volume earlier —N. B U

mistranslated it I desire therefore to discuss the matter here, so that scholars at large may be able to judge whether Dr Hoernle has mistranslated it or I

The Inscription is No 17 of Mr West's Series Dr Hoernle thinks he has discovered an important fact, viz, that the Inscription is in the Gāthā dialect This, in my opinion, does not come to more than saying that it contains a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit, or that there are some ungrammatical forms in the Inscription For I believe the Gāthā dialect does not deserve to be called a dialect with distinctive characteristics My views on it as well as on the language of these Inscriptions, both of which I also consider alike, I have given in the Wilson [Philological] Lectures which I delivered in 1877, but which, owing to several unfortunate circumstances, I have not yet been able to publish[1] I quote them here from my manuscript .—

"In many other ancient monuments existing in the country, we often find Inscriptions which are principally in two languages, the Sanskrit and the Pali or Prakrit, understanding by this last term a dialect derived from Sanskrit Those in the latter (Pali) are mostly connected with Buddhism, though some Buddhistic Inscriptions also—such as those discovered by General Cunningham at Mathura several years ago—are in Sanskrit In the caves at Kanheri, Nasik, Junnar, Nanaghat, Karle, and some other places in this Presidency and in the Bhilsa topes, we have Pali or Prakrit Inscriptions Most of these are short, but at Nasik we have long ones in the caves of Usavadāta and Gotamīputra The language of these latter is Pali, and but a few forms are peculiar, such as Datta and Kita for which the Pali has Dinna and Kata,—past passive participles of the roots dā and kr, and "Be" for the numeral 'two,' instead of the Pali Dve or Duve In Usavadāta's cave we have one Inscription (almost) entirely in Sanskrit, the rest are in Pali or Prakrit, but we have an intermixture of Sanskrit words, and the conjuncts pra, ja, and ksa often appear. In these and the smaller Inscriptions we have such words as Bāra

1 Since published in a book form, Bombay, 1914 These Wilson Philological Lectures of Sir R G Bhandarkar on the Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages are included in Volume IV of this Edition.—N B. U.

for Dvāra, Bārasaka for Vārsika, Barisa for Varsa, Udisa for Uddiśya, while the Pali forms of these words are Dvāra, Vassika, Vassa and Uddesetvā.

"Some of these Inscriptions were engraved so late as the third century, when the Pali could hardly have been the vernacular It had, however, become the sacred language of the Buddhists; the mendicant priests, for whom the caves were intended, and even educated lay members of that persuasion understood it, and hence it was used in these Inscriptions as Sanskrit was in others. The style of Gotamīputra's charters, abounding as it does in long compounds and elaborate expressions, is very unlike the plain and simple language of Aśoka's edicts And at the end of these and that of his son, we are told that the officers of the kings who caused the charters to be engraved, acted under the command of, i e., wrote to the dictation of 'respected persons who were the compilers of all such documents'

"It thus appears that the Pali was at that time a sacred and a literary language among the Buddhists. And as to the language of other Inscriptions, which, like those of Gotamīputra and his son, were not composed by learned men, one can easily understand how ignorant persons not knowing Sanskrit or Pāli well, but still not ignorant enough to know nothing of both, would confound together Sanskrit, Pali and vernacular words. Even in our days we find this phenomenon in the Patrikās or horoscopes written by our Josīs or astrologers, which are neither in pure Sanskrit nor in pure vernacular, but contain a mixture of both, and the Sanskrit words and forms in which are incorrectly written.

"And an explanation of this nature I have also to give of another variety of language that is found in the writings of the Northern or Nepalese Buddhists. Unlike those of the Singalese and Burmese Buddhists these are written in Sanskrit, but in such works as the Lalitavistāra, or the Life of Buddha, we find along with prose passages in pure Sanskrit a number of verses which contain words or forms which are not Sanskrit. Thus, for instance, we have—

सर्वशुभकर्महेतो फलमिद शृणुतास्य कर्मस्य[1] ।

or

पूजारहो भवितु सर्वजगे अनुबन्धत इममनन्तयशं[2] ।

"You will here see that Karmasya, Jage, and Yaśam are, in the Pali, treated like nouns in *a* Arha is dissolved into araha, and there are a few other instances of this process, such as Kilesa for kleśa, Śiri, for srī, Hiri for hrī, &c But generally the conjunct consonants are retained as they are in Sanskrit, and not assimilated as in the Pali So also you have Codenti[3] for codayanti, Māyāya,[4] gen sing of māyā, Upajanitvā,[5] Śunisyāti,[6] Nirīksatha,[7] imperative second pers pl Sametha[8] for Śamayata, &c, and even such words as manāpa,[9] which are Pali in every respect But along with these Pali characteristics, there are other peculiarities which must be attributed simply to carelessness For instance, the case terminations are often omitted as in Kāma sevati[10] for Kāmam sevate, Sugata[11] for sugatam, when governed by Pūjayitum, Moksa bhosyati for Mokso bhavisyati, &c Such constructions as Ksāntyā[12] saurabhyasampannāh for Ksāntisaurabhya°,[13] Śīlasamādhī tatha prajñāmayam for Śīlasamādhiprajñāmayam are often to be met with

"This language has, therefore no fixed characteristics at all. We have seen that in such words as Karma, Jaga, and Yasa above, the final consonant is dropped, and these as in the Pāli and the Prakrits made nouns in *a* But Yasas, the original Sanskrit form, is also used as in Kīrtiryasasca,[14] and there are instances in which other final consonants are preserved Along with such a Pali form as Sunisyāti noticed above, such a Sanskrit one as Śrnvanti,[15] is found It therefore appears to me that this is not an independent language, but that the writers of the Gāthās knew the spoken language of Pali, and that they were imperfect-

1 Lalitavistāra p 40, l 14
2 Ib p 50, l 6
3 Ib p 14, l 9
4 Ib, p 31, l 7
5 Ib p. 40, l 17
6 Ib p 62, l 1
7 Ib p 41, l 10
8 Ib p 42, l 4
9 Ib p 51, l 15
10 Ib p 31, l 11
11 Ib p 51, l 10
12 Ib p. 41, l 9
13 Ib p 51, l 18
14 Ib p. 50, l 17
15 Ib p 151, l 7.

ly acquainted with Sanskrit, knowing enough of it to see that the assimilation of consonants was a vulgarity, but not acquainted with its grammar They intended to write in the more polished or literary language, but not knowing it well, often used unconsciously the grammatical forms and the peculiar words of the vernacular

"At the time when the Gāthās were written, the claims of the Pali to be considered a separate language were probably not recognized, and it constituted the speech of the uninstructed. Those who in this condition of things wished to write, could not think of doing so in that form of speech, and therefore wrote in what they considered the language of educated men, but they knew it imperfectly, and hence produced such a heterogeneous compound as we have seen"

I give this rather long extract to show that in my opinion we should not in these Inscriptions look for the characteristics of a settled or fixed dialect The Inscription under discussion was composed by one who wished to write Sanskrit, but did not know the language quite in the form which was finally given to it by the great grammarians and other authors Hence, along with Sanskrit, we should expect to meet with a few Pali or vernacular forms of words

I will now proceed to consider Dr Hoernle's translation, and his objections to mine

In the first line occurs the compound Suvarnadānatīrthakarena, used as an epithet of Usavadāta I translate it, "who presented gold and constructed flights of steps" Dr Hoernle calls this a curious juxta-position Why, I do not know. The Inscription attributes such gifts and charitable deeds to Usavadāta as have been considered peculiarly meritorious by Hindus from that to the present day, and are laid down in works on the Dharmaśāstra, with certain rituals to be used in making them The giving away of a hundred thousand cows and of villages, feeding a hundred thousand Brahmans, furnishing Brahmans with the means of marrying, and all the rest, which are credited to Usavadāta, are such, and among the meritorious deeds of this nature is the deed of giving Suvarna or gold, which is quite an independent gift Suvarnadāna is mentioned as one of the ten chief Dānas or

religious gifts, in all treatises on the subject, and among them in Hemādri's Dānakhanda (p 564-75, Bibl Ind. Ed)

Tīrtha is 'a flight of steps' to a reservoir or stream of water, and is so explained by the native lexicographers, and is used in that sense in literature Mallinātha, commenting on a verse in the Kirātārjunīya, which contains that word, says, "as there are many people to enter a reservoir of water, to which a Tīrtha has been constructed but the maker of a Tīrtha is rare, so, &c"[1] The making of a Tīrtha, like that of constructing a bridge, is considered a meritorious deed In a passage from the Āditya-Purāna, quoted by Hemādri, in the work mentioned above, Tīrtha is named along with Tadāga 'a tank,' Kūpa 'a well,' Setu 'a bridge,' &c, as a thing the maker of which goes to heaven and lives there for crores of years (p 155) Suvarnadāna or the gift of gold and the construction of a flight of steps or a Ghāta, were the two religiously charitable deeds of Usavadāta at Bārnasāyā, and therefore they are here put together The Inscription is a historical record, and not a work of imagination If it were the latter, one might well ask what is the necessary connection between them which led the author to put them together. But the muddy state of the river might have led the son-in-law of Nahapāna to construct a Ghāta there, and Suvarnadāna, being one of the several modes of charity which Hindu opinion held sacred, was made by him there as he made other gifts in other places

The other objection brought forward by Dr Hoernle is that "Dānakarena is, he imagines, a rather unidiomatic expression" I suppose he means that the use of the root Kr with Dāna is not sanctioned by idiom But in Hemādri's Dānakhanda we have (p 3, v 17), Tatkrtadānavārilaharī, "the waves of the water [poured on the occasion] of the gifts made by him", (p 34), yat kanyāsu pitā kuryāt dānam pūjanamarcanam, quoted from the Brāhma Purāna; (p 90), dānamācamanam praudhapādo na kurvīta, quoted from Sātyāyana; (p 688), yat kimcit kurute dānam tadānantyāya kalpate, extracted from the Vahni-Purāna; and (p 996), dānam tena prakartavyam, quoted from the Bhavisyottara In these and a variety of other instances the

1 Canto II, v 3.

root Kr is used with Dāna and therefore my way of dissolving the compound cannot be objected to on the score of idiom

Now Dr. Hoernle's translation of the compound which, he says, is also Dr Buhler's, is—" gave gold to build a sacred bathing place " This destroys the religious sense of Dāna and makes the expression Suvarnadāna quite useless Certainly the other works of Usavadāta,—the rest-houses, tanks, wells, &c ,—were not constructed or dug by him with his own hands He paid gold or money to get them also constructed or dug Why then should the exprsssion Suvarnadāna be used here, and not in those places ? And what are bathing places as different from the Ghātas or flights of steps, and whence do you get them ?

The next expression with my translation of which Dr Hoernle finds fault, is Catusālāvasadhapratisraya He thinks that one kind of building only is intended by this compound, but beyond saying that in this Dr Buhler agrees with him, he gives no reason whatever But Pratisraya, as I have stated in a note, is what in these days is called an Annasattra, i e , a house where travellers put up and are fed without charge Dr Hoernle calls it a rest-house I have no objection to the word, provided he means what I mean , for Hemādri, (p 152), explains Pratisraya as Pravāsinām āsrayah, i e , a shelter-house for travellers Again, the Vahni-Purāna as quoted by him, (p 673) has—

प्रतिश्रयं सुविस्तीर्णं सदन्नं सुजलान्वितम् ।
दीनानाथजनार्थाय कारयित्वा गृहं शुभम् ।
निवेदयेत्पथिभ्यश्च शुभद्वारं मनोहरम् ॥

" Having caused to be constructed for poor and helpless persons a Pratisraya [in the shape of] a good house, very commodious (wide), having food and plentiful water, provided with a good door, and charming, he should dedicate it to travellers."

The establishment of such houses for poor travellers, i e , the founding of Pratiśrayas, forms an independent charitable deed of great merit (see Hemādri, Dānakhanda pp 673–677) There is another in the shape of giving houses to poor persons (pp 646-

663). Houses so given are sometimes spoken of as Āvasathas. Thus Vedavyāsa, as quoted by Hemādri (p 646), has—

रम्यमावसथं चैव दत्वामुं लोकमाश्रितः ।

"Having given away a charming house, (āvasatha), he attained the other world" In the Ānusāsanika Parvan of the Mahābhārata an account is given of several former kings having performed certain charitable deeds and obtained their fruits in the next world, and among them one is spoken of as "having given away charming houses to the twice-born and gone to heaven"—

रम्यांश्चावसथान्दत्वा द्विजेभ्यो दिवमागतः ।

Ānusāsanika Parvan, chap 137, v 10, Bombay Edition

Similarly the Brahmānda Purāna as quoted by Hemādri (p 162), says that by giving away charming Āvasathas or houses, one attains the fruit of the Rājasūya sacrifice The extract from the Mahābhārata given on the next page by the same writer contains a verse in which the giving away of Vihārāvasathas or pleasure houses, is associated with the giving away of gardens and wells

Thus then, Āvasathadāna and Pratisrayadāna are two different things, and therefore the compound does not express one thing only Now Catuśsāla might be taken as an attribute of Āvasatha, but even here, seeing how gifts of different things are associated in the other compounds used in this Inscription, I think it is better to take that also separately.

The next expression in dispute is Ibā-Pārādā-Damana-Tāpī-Karabenā-Dāhanukā-nāvāpunyatarakarena Dr Hoernle takes Nāvāpunyatarakarena as one compound, and Ibā—Dāhanukā as another This last is, according to him, in the accusative case. I would ask 'What is the accusative governed by?' But this is not a difficulty with Dr. Hoernle, for he says "the accusative is used for the locative." He thinks this is a rule of the Gāthā dialect; and to prove that rule, he adduces four instances only,—two from the Mahāvastu and two from the Lalitavistāra,—though he says this substitution of the one case for the other is "particularly frequent" I am sorry the Mahāvastu is not at hand, but the first reference to the

Lalitavistāra I have verified There the words are Yathābhipretam Rājagrham vihrtya, " having diverted or enjoyed himself in Rājagrha in accordance with his wishes " Now Rājagrham is, according to Dr Hoernle, by a Gāthā rule, an accusative used for the locative In Sanskrit proper the accusative, he thinks, would not be put here He appears to me to follow the Editor of the work, and since the latter professes to explain what he considers peculiar Gāthā expressions in the footnotes, and since here in a footnote, the Editor does give Rājagrhe as an equivalent for Rājagrham, his conclusion is that the accusative is here used for the locative But Patañjali, the great grammarian, commenting on a Kārikā to Pānini, I 4 51 says —

देशश्चाकर्मकाणां कर्मसंज्ञा भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

i e the place where an action denoted by an intransitive root is performed is to be called a Karma or object, and as such should be put in the accusative case The instances he gives are Kurūn svapiti, he sleeps in the Kurus,' Pañcālān svapiti, 'he sleeps in the Pañcālas ' This observation of Patañjali and the first instance are given in the Siddhānta Kaumudī In virtue of this rule of Sanskrit then, not of the supposed Gāthā dialect, Rājagrha, in the passage from the Lalitavistāra, being the place where the action denoted by the root hr with vi, which is intransitive, is performed, the name of the town is regarded as an object and put in the accusative case and so we have Rājagrham

In the other reference to the Lalitavistāra the line mentioned is at page 476 instead of page 467 Here Dr Hoernle has quite misunderstood the editor's note In the text we have the compound Tvacamāmsam In a footnote the editor explains this as tvanmāmse, which he must have meant for the dual nominative of the Dvandva compound of Tvac and Māmsa But from the termination e, the Doctor thought the editor meant it to be a locative The locative would make no sense here—the case wanted is the nominative In the text, though Tvac is treated like a noun ending in *a* the compound is Samāhāradvandva, as it should be according to Pānini II 4 2; but the editor seems to have thought it wrong, and so has given the ordinary Dvandva instead

Now in the two instances from the Mahāvastu given by Dr Hoernle, the words in the accusative are Avīcim, which is a kind of Buddhistic hell, and Dharanīm, which, I suppose, is the word that signifies "the earth" If these are governed by verbs or participles implying "motion," they are regular Sanskrit accusatives, if not, they also must be brought under the rule we have been considering It is possible that the rule which primarily is taken by Patañjali's commentators to apply to names of places, such as Kurus, Pañcālas, Rājagṛha, &c, may in later usage have been extended, and made applicable to places generally, such as the earth and the Buddhistic hell, but that the accusative in these cases is to be accounted for in either of these two ways and no other, appears certain

Then again, Dr Hoernle thinks that there are two accusative forms in this Inscription itself which, violating the rules of Sanskrit grammar, prove his Gāthā rule One of them is Tīram in the expression Ubhato tīram This, however, is in perfect accordance with the rules of Sanskrit grammar, for, under Pāṇini, II, 3 2, Patañjali gives a Kārikā, and comments on it thus:—

उभयसर्व [illegible]ताभ्या समन्ताभ्या द्वितीया वक्तव्या ।

i e, a noun that is in syntactical connection with Ubhayatah and Sarvatah should be put in the accusative case in other words, Ubhayatah and Sarvatah govern an accusative The instance given by him is Ubhayato Grāmam The Kārikā is given in the Siddhānta Kaumudī

The other accusative form relied on by Dr Hoernle is Varṣāratum in the expression Gato'smi varṣāratum This accusative is to be explained by Pāṇini, II 3 5, which teaches that a noun expressing duration should be put in the accusative case The sense then would be that Usavadāta went to the place mentioned for the rains Now if it should be objected that in Gato'smi varṣāratum, duration is not what is meant, but simply the time when he went, this might be considered to be an extension of the original Sanskrit rule, but not a violation of it This is what I meant by saying in a note in my paper that Varṣāratum is used for Varṣārtau

Thus then the rule laid down by Dr Hoernle that the accusative is promiscuously used for the locative is not at all proved;

nor do I think there can be such a rule. There may be an extension in a few cases of some of the special rules about the use of the accusative, as must be expected from the operation of the law of analogy,[1] but a promiscuous substitution of the one case for the other is not possible under any ascertained laws of the growth of human speech.

In the case in dispute, therefore, the supposed accusative Ibā—Dāhanukā must be justified on other grounds It should be stated what it is governed by An accusative must be governed by a verb, a participle, a preposition or a particle of that nature, and if it is an accusative expressive of length, distance, or duration, it must depend on the word, the length, distance or duration of the thing denoted by which it expresses None of these requisites exists in the present case, and therefore to take Ibā—Dāhanukā as an accusative is clearly a mistake

So then, if we take Nāvā to be the Pali form of the Sanskrit Nau, we shall have to consider the whole expression given above as one compound, and there is no question the compound would be awkward and unintelligible; while if we take Nāvā as an instrumental, and Ibā—Dāhanukā as a compound with the genitive termination *nām* omitted by mistake, the construction is natural and simple, and the sense plain Besides, if the names of the rivers are to be taken as parts of the compound, and consequently attributively joined to the word Tara, and thus subordinated to it, they cannot be referred to by the pronoun Etāsām immediately afterwards And since the rivers are independently spoken of by the genitive Etāsām, it is very likely that their names were independently put in the genitive case before And the omission of *nām* is very natural, for the engraver did actually cut one nā in the stone, and thought he had cut both

Dr Hoernle translates the expression Nāvāpunyatarakara by "maker of a sacred ferry of boats" He thus takes the first part as a genitive Tatpurusa equivalent to Nāvānām punyatarah (supposing Nāvā to be a word ending in ā) Now Tarah means "crossing," wherefore the compound would express "the sacred crossing of boats" This to my mind conveys no sense Tara

1 Hemacandra notices such an extension in his Prakrit grammar.

has hardly a conventional (Rūdha) sense as distinguished from the etymological (Yaugika). And even supposing it denotes "a boat," which it does not, what can "the sacred boat of boats" mean? And why should the ferry-boats be called sacred? Dr. Hoernle says, because "they were set apart for a special sacred purpose, viz, to carry pilgrims across." But what is the necessity of restricting the good done by Usavadāta to pilgrims? Ferry-boats are a necessity in the case of all, just as water is, and as an establishment for giving water is opened by charitable persons for all human beings, so are ferry-boats placed for the use of all There is no ground whatever for supposing that their use was so *restricted, nor is it reasonable to* suppose it was But Dr Hoernle's objection to the interpretation of Punya as "religiously meritorious," is that the establishment of boats is "no more so than the other acts specified in the record" The objection has force no doubt, and therefore I would divide and read the words thus Nāvā apanyatarakarena Panya is used in the sense of something one has to pay in exchange for what he purchases[1], and Tarapanya is a word given by the native lexicographers in the sense of what is paid for being taken across a river, i e the fare of a ferry-boat Apanyatara, therefore, is a Tara or crossing for which one has not to pay anything, i. e a free carriage across; and that is what Usavadāta provided by placing boats on the rivers The translation of the whole expression therefore is, literally, "who by means of boats caused a free passage across the rivers Ibā, &c," i e, "who established free or charitable ferry-boats" This is the sense of the words I have used in the translation of the Inscription in my paper, though I do not now remember whether I read and construed the compounds as I do now, and cannot understand how there is no note on it, and how the translation of a few words in this line has dropped away, as Dr Hoernle points out The sense this construction gives appears to me to be so appropriate, that here again I must accuse the engraver of a mistake Instead of stopping after he had cut a square with the upper line wanting, to represent प, he prolonged the right hand side below the line and made

1 महता पुण्यपण्येन क्रीतेयं कायनौस्त्वया i, e., "You have purchased this boat of your body by paying a heavy price for it in the shape of good deeds."

पु of it He was more familiar with the word Punya than Panya, and had to engrave it once before, and hence his mistake is not unnatural.

In the transcript of the Inscription in my paper, य appears in brackets after Ubhato Thereupon Dr Hoernle thinks I read ubhaya for ubhato and construe ubhayatīram as a compound. But if taken as a compound it would have to be considered as in the accusative case The accusative, however, cannot be syntactically connected here I do not think it was difficult to make out that what I meant was to give the correct Sanskrit form of the word, which is Ubhayato and not ubhato, and that the bracketed य was printed after तो instead of between भ and तो by a mistake

The next expression is Sabhā-prapā-karena Dr Buhler and I understand Sabha-prapā as a Dvandva, but Dr Hoernle thinks "the compound may be explained much more simply as a common Tatpurusa," and takes it to be a dative Tatpurusa Why is a dative Tatpurusa much more simple than a Dvandva? On the contrary, I should think it one of the most difficult, since Pānini and his commentators allow it only in a few cases A dative Tatpurusa is possible only between two nouns, the first of which having the sense of the dative, denotes a certain material, and the second a thing made of that material, and between any noun in the dative sense and Artha, Bali, Hita, or Raksita

It is wrong to suppose that we can compound any words in any sense The Sanskrit idiom sanctions certain compounds only, and in a certain sense, and rules about these have been given by the grammarians, and they are generally followed by Sanskrit writers, though not invariably A compound that violates the rules strikes the ear at once as bad You cannot, for instance, form such a compound as Brāhmanapayah in the sense of Brāhmanāya payah , and no more can you have Sabhāprapāh in the sense of Sabhāyai or sabhābhyah prapāh. Both the compounds would be quite un-idiomatic And what is the sense that we get? Usavadāta constructed "watering places for the assemblies, i e, for those assembled to cross over the rivers" Why need persons assemble in numbers to cross a river, and if evne

they did, who would think of calling them a Sabhā, except metaphorically? A Sabhā is much more formal than that The word has the sense of "a regular assembly," or "a meeting," with a certain purpose A crowd of persons who have casually gathered on the road do not constitute a Sabhā The word denotes also "a hall," or "a house." The first sense does not answer here, but the second is appropriate.

The clause to be next discussed is the one beginning with Pinditakāvade, and ending with Parsabhyah Dr Hoernle translates Rāmatīrthe carakaparsabhyah by "the Parsads (or congregations) going to Rāmatīrtha" He takes Caraka as a verbal derivative like Kāraka and Hāraka, since he understands it in its etymological sense, and attaches to the root its primary signification, viz, to "move or wander" But if it is used as a verbal derivative, the vowel should have taken Vrddhi and the word become Cāraka Caraka, the refore, has a special sense, and I believe is never used simply in the sense of "one who moves" In the quotation from the Brhadāranyaka given by Bohtlingk and Roth in their Lexicon, sub voce, which is Madresu carakāh paryavrajāma, the word Caraka is explained by Samkarācārya and others as Adhyayanārtham vrata-caranāh carakāh, i. e, "they were called Carakas, because they were observing (√ car) a vow for the sake of study", and the very use of the verb paryavrajāma, which means 'we wandered,' shows that Caraka had even then acquired a secondary and conventional (Rūdha) sense It has other special senses also, but the word—I maintain—is not used in the primary and etymological sense attached to it by the Doctor Besides, the compound is by no means good, since the word Caraka which has been subordinated to Parsad, is what is called Sāpeksa, i e, connected with the word Rāmatīrthe, which is not in the compound A subordinate member of a compound should not, as a general rule, be thus connected with an independent word, though a Sāpeksa compound is allowable when the sense is not rendered obscure thereby Ṛddhasya rājapurusah, for instance, in which Rāja is connected with Ṛddhasya will not do, though Devadattasya gurukulam is admissible.

Dr Hoernle here says that "in Sanskrit we should expect the accusative Rāmatīrtham," instead of the locative Rāmatīrthe,

which he accounts for by a Prakrit usage ; i. e, according to him, the rules of Sanskrit grammar require that the expression should be Rāmatīrtham Carakaparsadbhyah I suppose he means that the accusative will be governed by the word caraka Here there is a double mistake When a verbal or participial form of the root car is used in the primary sense of the root, viz "wandering," the place wandered over is oftener put in the locative than in the accusative.[1] So that the locative is not only not wrong according to the idiom of Sanskrit, but is decidedly better But even if we suppose that the "place wandered over" is always considered asthe object of the action, and put in the accusative, as in the case of the root Gam, still by a general and very rudimentary rule of Sanskrit grammar, the agent or object of an action is put in the genitive case when any verbal derivatives are used (Pānini II 3 65), except those enumerated in Pānini II 3 69 Thus ghaṭam kārakah is certainly not Sanskrit, and so Rāmatīrtham carakah cannot be They ought to be Ghatasya kārakah and Rāmatīrthasya carakah, supposing this latter word were unobjectable in in other respects, as it certainly is not

And now as to the sense of the expression Why should "going to Rāmatīrtha" have been rendered a sine qua non of the recipients of Usavadāta's gift? The congregations resided in Govardhana, Śorparaga, and other places Why should it have been considered necessary that they should 'be in the habit' of going to Rāmatīrtha to be fit to receive the cocoanut trees? Thus, in every way Dr. Hoernle's construction and translation are untenable

I still think Caraka is a mistake for Carana; for then the expression Caranaparsadbhyah would mean "to the conclaves of learned men belonging to the Caranas or bodies of students of each Veda or Sākhā" But Caraka also will make sense, though it is not so appropriate; for it would mean "the bodies of persons belonging to the Caraka śākhā" In the last case the sense is restricted, and in the other, I do not understand why the observers of the vows meant should be spoken of as forming a Parsad which

1 See अरण्ये चचार Ait Brāh. VII, 14 & 15, and the many quotations given by Böhtlingk and Roth in their Lexicon, sub voce,

is rather a technical term as applicable to the learned leaders of a Śākhā

Then Dr Hoernle sees no reason why Dr Stevenson and I should read parsadbhyah instead of parsabhyah For myself I may state that I visited the caves in person, and compared Mr West's transcripts with the originals On looking into my copy of the transcripts I now find bhyah corrected to dbhyah, though there is a mark of interrogation against this I am not sure therefore that dbhyah exists there, but I thought I saw it, and hence put it in

Again, the Doctor says —"The word nāligera has greatly puzzled Dr Stevenson and Prof Bhandarkar" Though his identification of the word with the Sanskrit Nārikela is not improbable, sa far as the sound of the word is concerned, I must confess I still continue to be greatly puzzled For, if Usavadāta presented thirty-two cocoanut trees in the village of Nānamgola, this village must be on or near the sea coast, for cocoanut trees do not grow above the Ghātas But among the grantees was the body of the learned Brahmans of Govardhana near Nasik, and it was one o' the four congregations at least to whom the thirty-two trees were given, so that about eight must have fallen to its lot Now the presentation of eight cocoanut-trees at a place more than sixty miles distant from where the persons to whom they were presented lived, and separated from it by a high mountain range, is a thing of a very unusual character The Brahmans of Govardhana would have preferred some other trees or something else nearer home, if Usavadāta really wished to confer a favour upon them And if the Govardhana conclave consisted of several individuals, the grant was of hardly any practical value to any one of them And what could be the reason why thirty-two cocoanut trees in one and the same village were given to bodies of men living in different places?

Dr. Hoernle thinks it objectionable to take Dharmātmanā as an epithet of Usavadāta in the sense of "benevolent," or "charitable," and translates it "out of religious principle" In Sanskrit usage Dharmātman is always used as an epithet of a person, and taken as a Bahuvrīhi in the sense of dharmah ātmā yasya, i e "one whose very self, or soul, or nature, is charity or benevo-

lence, or virtue "[1] In our modern vernaculars also, the word is used in that sense If understood as Dharmaścāsau ātmā ca, i e, as a Karmadhāraya, it would mean by (his) self or nature, viz benevolence, &c, which comes to the same thing as before, though the compound and its use would be unid omatic If taken as a genitive Tatpursa, 'Dharmasya ātmā,' the sense would be "by the nature or self of benevolence &c" In this sense it would not do here at all; for Usavadāta gave away what he did because benevolence was his nature, not on account of the nature of benevolence, which would be unintelligible Dr Hoernle is "inclined to think that it is probably a Buddhistic technical term;" but he gives no reason for this I wish he had given one instance at least

He says Dharmātmanā is very widely seperated from Usavadāta, whose epithet it is taken to be The same objection might be brought against the epithet that immediately precedes, viz Sahasrapradena; but notwithstanding that, Dr Hoernle himself construes it with Usavadāta The thing is, after the word Usavadāta, you have in the Inscription nothing but a string of epithets, and Dharmātmanā is the last of them Between this and the preceding epithet, you have only the name of the place where the monastery was excavated, so that really the epithet in question is not far removed

The other objection is, that the word occurs in another Inscription (West's No 11, not 4), where the Doctor thinks it impossible to construe it with the person named To be able to construe it with the person, I have taken the word to be Dhammātmano,—led to it by some stroke above the nā But if that reading is not allowable, we should complete the first sentence with Indrāgnidatasa, and translate:—"Of Indrāgnidatta, the Northerner &c," i e, after the genitive some such word as Dānam or Deyadhammo, should be understood, as it has to be done frequently[1] The second sentence begins with Dhammātmanā, and

1 See the references, sub voce, in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, and Mahābhārata Ānuśāsanika, Bom Ed chap 139, v 10, Dharmātmā Kṛsnah, chap 140, v 2, dharmātmā Vrsabhānkah, chap. 142, v 39, Dīksām carati dharmātmā, ib v 57, Sukham vasati dharmātmā, chap 143, v 45, Vipro bhavati dharmātmā &c &c

the instrumental is to be connected with Khānitam, the sense being "this cave was caused to be excavated by the pious one"

Then Dr Hoernle speaks of my reading of two words in the last line, Bhattārakā āññatiyā, and thinks the final ā of Bhattarakā is unintelligible But it exists in the original notwithstanding. The initial ā of the next word is that which is written below the line I transferred it to its proper place, taking it to be a correction, as Dr Buhler does Dr Hoernle and he, however, read it as अ, but in my corrected copy of Mr West's transcript I find ā and there is no query after it as in the case of Parsadbhyah noticed above, and that it must be ā, I will show presently

Dr Hoernle thinks that the अ below the line is meant to indicate the division of the compound Why was that considered necessary here and not in Gatosmi, which occurs immedicately afterwards and in Catusālāvasadha, which we have in the second line? It appears to me that the engraver first cut the words Bhattārakāñātiyā, and somebody afterwards found that it was capable of being taken as Bhattāraka añātiyā, equivalent to Bhattāraka ajñaptyā, meaning "without the knowledge of the lord," but that was not what was meant What was intended was Bhattāraka āñātiyā for Bhattāraka ājñaptyā, i e, "by the command of the lord,' and in order that there might be no mistake about it, he thought the best way was to separate the words, as he had done in the case of Taḍāga udapāna in the second line, and put in the initial आ which was so important After he had done that, it was necessary to obliterate the stroke representing आ in the last syllable of Bhattārakā, but as this was difficult he did not attempt it

Now as to the gap between Malaye and Hirudham, I thought I saw some letters like sāyim in it when I visited the caves, and therefore it did not occur to me to say the gap contained nothing, and to connect hi with Mālaye Dr Hoernle's reading Mālayehim is however very likely and good, and I feel no hesitation in saying so-as I have felt none in expressing my disgreement with him on every other point, expect, to a certain extent, the identification of Nāḷigera with Nārikela—and in pointing out his mistakes

1 See No. 10 Karle, and No. 21 Junnar. Arch Sur Western India,—Cave Temple Inscriptions No 10, Bhilsa Topes Nos 103, 136, 147, 174, No. 1 Tope &c.

THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

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In 1884 I published in my Early History of the Deccan, a note on the Gupta Era[1], in which I endeavoured to show that there was no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the initial date of the Gupta Era given by Alberuni, and that, such of the Gupta dates found in Inscriptions, as contained details which allowed of their being compared with corresponding Saka years, confirmed the statement of the Arab author In the Introduction to the Volume on the "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings," just published by Mr J F Fleet, as Epigraphical Surveyor to the Government of India for about three years and a half, he quotes my views, in doing which, however, he has not been fair to me He is also at issue with me with regard to the accurate Epoch of the Gupta Era I therefore deem it necessary to notice this part of the Introduction

In note 2, p 64, Mr Fleet says of me —"A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Saka Era runs through his remarks Thus, though quite rightly taking Saka-Samvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A D 484-85 with a difference of 78-79, he also with the same difference, took, e g., A D 511-12 as the equivalent of Saka-Samvat 433 current" I did not, and this is a pure misquotation I did not say that Śaka-Samvat 406 expired was equivalent to A D. 484-85, nor did I say that Saka-Samvat 433 current was equivalent to A D 511-12. My words are —"Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A D If, however, he had added 241+78=319 and taken 484 A D. to correspond to Gupta 165, &c" (Early History of the Deccan, p 99, lines 12 and 15-16),[2] and "191 Gupta past+242=433 Śaka current+78=511 A D current" That is, I take 406 Śaka past (= Gupta + 241) to correspond to 484 A D and 433 Saka current to 511 A. D

1 Ante, pp. 179ff [N B U]

2 Ante, p. 179 [N. B U.]

Now it is a patent fact that every Śaka year corresponds to parts of two Christian years; but to avoid pedantry it is usual to give one of the two years only, except when something important is involved And I have here given that of the two Christian years with which I was concerned Śaka 406 past corresponds to a part of 484 and of 485 A D, and Śaka 433 current to a part of 510 and 51. A D I gave the first in the first case, because, the month of Āsādha mentioned in the Inscription falls in the first of the two Christian years to which a Śaka year corresponds, and to mark off its contrast with General Cunningham's 483 (not 483-484), and the second in the second case because it was the year against which the cyclic year Mahācaitra is found in General Cunningham's Tables, and not against 510

It will thus be seen that the 'most curious confusion" found by Mr. Fleet is not in my remarks, but in Mr Fleet's misunderstanding and misquotation of them He had no reason whatever to take my 511 A D as 511-12 A D, if he wanted to state the two years to which the Saka year corresponds, he ought to have taken it as 510-11 A D.

In another place (p. 141, note 3) though he acknowledges that my second note drew his attention to the desirability of examining the details of almanacs, and though he must have seen it distinctly stated by me, that the Śaka dates used by us in the Bombay Presidency represent expired years, and those used on the Madras side current years, the latter being in advance of the former by one year, and though under these circumstances it is impossible that I should think the addition of 79 to a current Saka year would give us the Christian year containing the second part of the Śaka year,--still it is under such an implication as this that he quotes this same equation of mine, viz, 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current + 78 = 511 A D current, and another viz, 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka current + 78 = 529 A D current Both these equations I say are perfectly correct, but the second Christian year a part of which corresponds to a part of the Śaka year, ought not to be taken as 512 in the one case and 530 in the other, but 510 and 528 respectively And as I have given 511 in the first case as stated above, because in General

Cunningham's Tables, it and not 510 occurs in the column of Mahā-caitra, so have I in the second, given 529 and not 528, because it occurs in the column of Mahāśvayuja.

Again in my note, I identify (E. H. D, p 129, lines 26-27.)[1] Dhruvasena II with Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhata, and observing that the difference in the latter part of the name is insignificant since Sena and Bhata were titles that could be used promiscuously, I proceed to say that the king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasimha may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name. Now, no fair-minded man can have any difficulty whatever in finding out that here I speak of the same king Dhruvasena with whom I have above identified Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhata, and that Dhruvasimha is a misprint for Dhruvasena. Still Mr. Fleet says "the name of Dhruvasimha does not occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhī grants that have come to light." If I were to criticize Mr. Fleet's work in the same spirit, I should for instance, say as regards his reference to Volume IX of the Archæological Reports as that which contains General Cunningham's "Tables for the twelve year cycle of Jupiter" (p. 102, note 1, l. 13), that the Tables did not occur at all in the whole Volume; and I should be more justified in doing so, since Mr Fleet gives no indication whatever that IX is a misprint for X; while I have just five lines above called the same king whose name is printed here as Dhruvasimha, Dhruvasena.

Mr. Fleet supposes me to have made "an assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings" (Intro. p 65, ll. 6-7). I made no such assertion. My words are —"The Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of kings," (E. H. D p. 129, ll. 16-17).[2] The word two does not occur here or anywhere else in connection with this matter Mr Fleet, however, may have meant to say that this is implied in the words that immediately follow which are :—" and says they were nephews of Śīlāditya of Mālvā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata, was son-in-law to the son of Harsavardhana If they were nephews of the king of Mālvā they were brothers and both of them kings" If so, my reply is, that herein I interpret the plural kings in view of the identification I am going to make of the kings with two brothers

1 Ante, p 382. [N. B. U.]
2 Ante, p. 381. [N. B. U.]

who reigned one after another, viz Dharasena and Dhruvasena. Mr. Fleet at the same time finds no authority in the two translations of the Chinese work for my statement that the younger prince was denoted by Hiuen Tsiang by the name Tu-lu-p'o-po-tu. The authority is in Julien's translation The words translated into English are :—"The present kings are of the race of Ksatriya They are nephews of Śīlāditya, king of Mālvā At this time the son of Śīlāditya, king of Kānyakubja, has a son-in-law named Dhruvapatu" Since Hiuen Tsiang is to be supposed as knowing of kings past and present and not future, the kings who were nephews of Śīlāditya of Mālvā other than the one on the throne at the time, must have reigned previously to him, and since of brothers those who are elder occupy the throne before the younger, Dhruvapatu's brother or brothers who reigned before him must have been his elder brother or brothers, and he, his or their, younger brother This is an obvious inference

Again Mr Fleet says :—" he announced that Prof K L. Chhatre had found that it (Eran record) was correct for Śaka-Samvat 406 as an expired year . " (p 64) On this there is a foot-note which begins —" It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta Samvat 165 of the record was itself an expired year " And then he proceeds to tell me something about "the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date " being not " intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all,'' the bearing of which on the point I cannot understand, since the question is whether the Gupta year 165 as compared with the corresponding Śaka year and not the Christian year was an expired year And in determining the value of a Gupta date, we have primarily to do so in terms of a Śaka date and not a Christian date, since the equation given by Alberuni is in terms of a Śaka date.

It will, however, be seen from the context that the fact of 406 Śaka being an expired year was only one of the premises which led me to the conclusion that 165 Gupta was a past year The other premise is the rule I have laid down at the end of the last paragraph, viz, that if both Gupta and Śaka years are past or both current, the difference between them is only 241.[1] And I have alluded to it even here. If between 165 Gupta and 406 Śaka the difference is 241, and if the latter is

1 Ante, p. 179. [N. B U]

an expired year, the former also must be so The grounds for this rule also are indicated in my paper Mr Fleet contests it and attributes the result I come to, to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (p 84, note) and refers to his note on p. 64 which I have been discussing and in which he says "the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all" What the epoch of the Śaka era and the equation have to do with my rule I cannot perceive It is based on independent grounds which I will now proceed to discuss as well as the true epoch of the Gupta era.

Mr. Sh B Dikshit has calculated and verified certain dates for Mr. Fleet and the following are the results :—

1 Gupta 165 of the Eran Inscription corresponds to Śaka 406 expired.

2 Valabhi 945 of Colonel Tod's Veraval Inscription corresponds to Śaka 1186 expired

3 Valabhi 927 of Dr Bhagvanlal's Veraval Inscription corresponds to Saka 1167 expired

4 Valabhi 330 of Dr Buhler's Kaira plate Inscription corresponds to Saka 570 expired

5 Gupta 386 of a Nepal Inscription corresponds to Saka 627 expired

6 Gupta 585 past of the Morvi plate translated by me corresponds to Saka 826 and 827 expired

Now Mr Fleet supposes that the Gupta Valabhi years are current years and that by the addition of 241, the equation given by Alberuni, we get the corresponding expired Śaka year, and of 242, the corresponding current Śaka year. So that 0 Gupta current corresponded to 241 Śaka expired and 242 Śaka current, i e to 319-20 This therefore is the epoch of the era. Mr. Fleet gives no reason whatever for taking the Gupta years as current; but I suppose he thinks it natural that they would be so, especially since they were regnal years and dates in the Christian era represent current years. But from Inscriptions and books we see that the Hindu's usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date

is not 'in the year so and so' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such event took place' And in the second note given in the 'Early History of the Deccan,'[1] I have shown that in the Inscriptions there examined, about two-thirds of the dates represent the years expired, and one third the year current It should by no means be supposed that the expired year is to be understood only when a word expressive of 'having elapsed' is used We use expired Śaka years at the present day in ordinary transactions, but never use a word expressive of 'having elapsed.'

Mr Fleet admits, though most grudgingly, that "we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an expired year whether it is expressly denoted as such or not' (p 128 ll 30-31), and gives an instance in a foot note But by "such an era" he means an era used for astronomical purposes, i e, in the present case, the Śaka era, and asserts that the "rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes," and says that the Vikrama era is such an era, (ib.) But in the very next sentence he admits so much at least that "the expired years of this era might be quoted" and actually gives three instances, and all that he claims for the supposition on which his whole speculation about the Gupta dates—which occupies by far the greater portion of his Introduction—is based, is that "occasionally at least, the current years were used" Mr Fleet goes on to say, "such an era, again, is the Gupta Valabhī era," and declares that in the absence of a word meaning "expired" it is only reasonable that we should interpret passages giving dates as denoting a current year

What, then, all this comes to is this —The expired years of an era whether used for astronomical purposes or not might be quoted in dates; but in the case of the latter a word expressive of 'expired" must be used, if not, the year is to be taken as current; while in the case of the former, i e, an era used for astonomical calculation, such a word is not necessary The grounds of this distinction Mr Fleet does not give, and it is proved to be simply imaginary by the fact pointed out by Mr Fleet himself (p 86, note 3) that the Vikrama year 1320 in Col Tod's Veraval inscription is an

1 Ante, p p 186 ff [N B U.]

expired year, though there is no expression there which means "expired"

If then a date in the non-astronomical Vikrama era does sometimes denote an expired year whether it is expressly so stated or not, why may we not take the same to be true of the non-astronomical Gupta Valabhī era? And what has the fact of the use of an era for astonomical purposes to do with the occurrences of expired years in the dates given in Inscriptions and books? I see no reason whatever why, if astonomers use an era and construct their rules and tables on the basis of an expired year, ordinary people also should give their dates in expired years. And why should astronomers themselves use that as the basis of their rules? If calculations have to be made by taking completed years, surely the results may be made applicable to the current year, and given as astronomical facts belonging to that year Do not the Christian astronomers do so? There is nothing in the nature of astronomy to lead to such a result

The fact is that the use of a past Śaka year instead of a current one was brought about by the Hindu's usual way of looking at a date stated above; and it was rather transferred to astronomy from ordinary usage than borrowed from astronomy And the usage has been found to hold in the case of Vikrama dates whether a word meaning 'expired' occurs or not, though this era is not used for astronomical purposes. Thus then the usage proved by me with reference to the Saka dates and now shown to hold in the case of Vikrama dates, must be regarded as applicable to Gupta dates also, and we must expect to find them mostly as expired years, and sometimes as current years.

Again, Alberuni's equation is, Śaka 953 corresponds to Gupta 712, i. e. we have to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. We have seen that the addition of 241 in three at least of the above dates, and in the four dates of the twelve-year style gives us an expired Śaka year. Hence Alberuni's Śaka 953 must be an expired year, a fact which is also proved by the corresponding date in one of the other eras given by him; and on Mr. Fleet's theory, his Gupta 712 must be a current year Now it does not at all look likely that in giving

the equivalent dates, he should give the expired year of the Śaka and the current year of the Gupta.

Again, when he states that the epoch of the Valabhī or Gupta era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era, ought we to understand him to say that the current year 0 of the Gupta era, i e. the year before the commencement of the era was 241 years later than the expired year 0 of the Śaka, i. e the first current year of that era, and make 241 Śaka expired and 242 current to correspond with 0 Gupta current and 242 and 243 respectively with 1 Gupta current? Is it not proper to interpret him as meaning that the epoch of the Gupta era, i e 0 Gupta current, is 241 year later than the epoch of the Saka era, i e 0 Śaka current, and take 241 Śaka current and 240 expired to correspond with Gupta 0 current and 242 and 241 respectively with 1 Gupta current? According to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it, the difference between a current, or expired Gupta year and the corresponding current or expired Saka is 242, Alberuni's equation 241 being applicable to those cases only in which one is expired and the other is current, while according to my interpretation the difference is 241, i. e., the number given by Alberuni Again, my way of taking it harmonizes with M Reinaud's translation "the era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of the Saka," which means that 241 Saka past is 1 current of the Gupta era or 0 past, while Mr. Fleet's is quite opposed to it as according to him Gupta 1 current corresponds to 242 Śaka past.

Again, the roundabout way of arriving at the date of the destruction of Somnath mentioned by Alberuni proves nothing. The year 242 to which the years of passed centenniums have to be added may be the epoch year of the centennium. Thus, then, it is reasonable and natural to understand Alberuni, from all he has said, to mean that 241 have to be added to an expired or current Gupta to arrive at the corresponding expired or current Śaka.

But the date in the Morvi plate is almost fatal to Mr Fleet's conjecture. It is put down as 585 expired and corresponds, as determined from the solar eclipse mentioned in the grant, to 826

Śaka expired Thus we have here to add 241 to this expired year of the Gupta era, to arrive at the corresponding expired Śaka year; while since Mr Fleet adds 241 current Gupta year to arrive at it, he will have to add 242 in this case The Gupta date will thus, according to his view, be equivalent to Śaka 827 past. But in that year also there was a solar eclipse. This occurred on the new moon day of Vaisākha according to the Southern scheme or of Jyestha according to the Northern, in the Śaka year 827 expired and 828 current The grant was executed on the bright half of Phālguna in the same Gupta year 585, which of course must, like that given above, be an expired year, so that according to Mr Fleet's view the charter was issued nine months and four days after the religious gift had been made. But if we take the solar eclipse of 826 expired and 827 current to be the one alluded to in the grant, it occurred on the new moon day of Kārttika according to the Southern and of Mārgasīrsa according to the Northern scheme, and thus the charter was issued three months and four days after the religious gift This therefore is much more likely to be the eclipse mentioned in the grant, and if so, we have to add 241 to an expired not current—Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding Saka expired [1]

Mr. Fleet makes every endeavour to throw discredit on this date The eclipse of Saka 826 expired he considers to be not as satisfactory as that of 827 expired, because on that occasion only the twenty-fifth part of the Sun's disc was obscured at Morvi, while on this, one ninth But the religious significance of it, which alone led the king to make his grant, is the same for all solar eclipses, whatever the extent of the obscuration So that this consideration has no force whatever in the decision of the question

Again, in three different places in his book he discusses in detail the reading Gaupte and the grammar and sense of the

1 The eclipse adopted by Mr Fleet was the only one found for me by the late Prof. K. L. Chhatre, when I wrote my note. Though of course a general agreement of the details in the dates with Alberuni's equation, which had been discredited by some previous writers, was alone what I wanted to establish, and that object was served by Prof Chhatre's eclipse, still I found it very inconvenient, and have therefore expressed myself very hypothetically about its bearing on the point.

word (p 21, 97ff. Intro and p 58) He finds that in the facsimile of the Morvi plate published in the Indian Antiquary, one stroke on the top of the letter g in the word Gaupte is wanting, so that he reads it Gopte Now I have no definite recollection whether when I read the plate I found this stroke , but I think it did exist there, for I had no difficulty whatsoever in making out the word Gaupte, just as I had none in making out the word paurvva the p of which has two strokes in the ninth line The very small stroke which makes au of o may have dropped away in the facsimile In fact, the probability that it existed is very great, amounting almost to a certainty, since my corrections I have enclosed within brackets, and if Gaupte had been a correction for Gopte, I should have enclosed it similarly In the third line the stroke is also wanting on the letter n of Svarbbhānau and also the upper stroke representing r However, for the present there is no help and we must take the word as Mr Fleet would have it and read it as Gopte But it stands to reason, even supposing that to be the true reading of the plate, that it could be meant for nothing else but Gaupte Mr Fleet thinks that it may have been intended for Goptre ' to the protector, i e , ' the local governor ' and this he thinks is ' even more sustainable ' (p 2 , Intr and p 58 note) So then, according to Mr Fleet, this grant of land was made to the governor of the province and not to the Brahmans of the Maitrāyanīya Sākhā mentioned above as the grantees Was he to perform the religious ceremonies for which it was given ?

Or Gopte may be the name of a village, he thinks ; and the sense then would be " the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gopta ' But has he seen such charters spoken of as having been given at villages without some such expression as that the king was at that time residing in the village ? Besides we should in such a case expect the word Grāma 'village' affixed to Gopta. This village Mr. Fleet identifies with Gop which he says is the name of a village in Kathiawar Gopta according to him " may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern Gop " (p 58 Note). But ancient Gopta must by the rules of Prakrit philology be changed to Gotta and not Gop, or according to a more modern process, to Gopat, Gopit or Goput , but as the Gujaratis have a predilection for a, it must become Gopat.

Again, Mr Fleet says —(1) "Even then (i e, when we correct Gopte to Gaupte), the adjective Gaupte occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, Satapañcake, which it qualifies (p 98,1 8ff) (2) 'But even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, pañcaka, which it qualifies" (p 21, ll 23-24) If Mr Fleet's criticism is just, all our great Sanskrit authors will have to be considered unskilful composers The sloka is

Pañcāsītyā yute' tīte Samānām Satapañcake ।
Gaupte dadāvado * ॥

What Mr Fleet means to say is that if you have an adjective at the beginning of the second half of a Sloka, while the substantive which it qualifies is at the end of the first half, it is an irregularly detached place which any skilful composer will avoid; and if the substantive is further off it is of course worse But in the Bhagavadgītā we have

* * * mahatīm camūm ।
Vyūdhām Drupadaputrena &c ॥ I 3,
* * * Prakrtim viddhi me parām ।
Jīvabhūtām Mahābāho &c ॥ vii. 5

In Manu we have

Esa vo'bhihito dharmo brāhmanasya caturvidhah ।
Punnyo' ksayaphalah &c ॥ VI 97,
Āptāh sarvesu varnesu kāryāh karyesu Sāksinah ।
Sarvadharmavido' lubdhāh &c ॥ VIII. 67

In Kalīdāsa's Raghuvamsa we have

patyuh prāgvamsavāsinah ।
Ananyajāneh saivāsīd &c ॥ XV 61,
Sa dadarsa taponidhim । anvāsitam Arundhatyā &c ॥ 1-56

And instances might be mutiplied to any extent Mr Fleet's objection therefore is simply imaginary If arguments such as these are allowable, what is there to prevent their being used against the reading Gaupte also, supposing we were to find the plate again and actually to see the word there Even as against that you might say that the adjective is in an irregularly detached place and that Gaupte must be the name of a village.

In spite, however, of criticism of this nature, there can be no question that the date of the Morvi grant as a Gupta date is as reliable as any of the others given above, and as it is more reasonable to take the eclipse therein mentioned as the one that occurred in Śaka 826 expired than as that of 827 epired, it shows that we have to add 241 to a completed—not current—Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding completed Śake year, and that Mr Fleet's theory has no basis whatever to stand on

The third of the above dates, 927 Valabhī, corresponds, according to Mr Dikshit's calculations, to 1167 Saka expired Here we have to add 240 to the Gupta Valabhī year instead of 241 and the date presents a serious difficulty Mr Fleet has shown that the Gupta Valabhī year did not begin on the first of Kārttika or Mārgaśīrsa[1] and takes the 1st of Caitra as its initial date like that of the Saka year, and it is to a current year according to that reckoning that we have to add 241 to convert it into the corresponding Saka year completed But the Gupta Valabhī year in this Inscription, he thinks, began like the Southern Vikrama year, with the first of Kārttika The month given in the Inscription is Phālguna which is one of the months that follow Kārttika The year of the Inscription he supposes became 927 on the 1st of Kārttika, and before that it was 926 (and would have

1 Mr Fleet proves the point with reference to these two months only from the initial dates of some of the cyclic years But it can be proved generally that the Gupta and the Śaka year began in the same month or the same day more easily When the years of two eras do not begin on the same day, we have to add a certain number to the year expressed in one during one part of the year to convert it to the corresponding year of the other, and add the same number increased by one during the other part Thus Śaka 1810 on this side of the country had 78 added to it from 1st Caitra to about the end of Mārgaśīrsa and 79 thereafter up to the end of Phālguna to convert it to the corresponding Christian year The day in the Eran Gupta date is Āsādha, ś 13, in that of Veraval, Āsādha kr 13, in those with the cyclic years, Kārttika ś 3, Caitra ś 2, Māgha kr, 3, and Caitra ś 13, and the Morvi grant, Phālguna ś 5, and in all these cases we have to add 241 to convert the year to the corresponding Śaka past and not 242 in any case upto the 12th month from Caitra. Hence the Gupta and the Śaka years began in the same month, and since we have Caitra ś 2 in one case and Chaitra ś 13 in another, on the same day, as the Saka year begins on the 1st of Caitra,

continued to be 926,) till Phālguna had it not been for this Southern reckoning. With this 926 we have no difficulty, for by adding 241 to it we get 1167 But in the other Veraval Inscription of Valabhī 945 the reckoning is according to Mr Fleet himself distinctly Northern, that is, the Gupta Valabhī year there given was one that began like the Śaka on the 1st of Caitra How is it possible then that at the same place about 18 years before, the southern Vikrama scheme should have been applied to the Gupta Valabhī date of this Inscription ?

Mr Fleet answers the question by saying, " the explanation, however is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the Inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarat, who had brought a Gujarat almanac with him " That is supposing too much indeed, to save a theory The Inscription was prepared under the direction of (1) a pilgrim, (2) a pilgrim from Gujarat, and moreover (3) a pilgrim who had brought a Gujarat almanac ! We have no right whatever to make any one of these suppositions without a particle of evidence to support it much less the three together

According to my view, the discrepancy in the date can easily be reconciled I have shown in my second note and mentioned above, that though dates are very often given in completed years, still sometimes they are given in current years If in accordance with the evidence of this usage we suppose that 927 was the current year, the expired year is 926 , and by adding 241 to it we get the corresponding year 1167 expired, arrived at by the astronomical calculation This explanation will not agree with Mr. Fleet's theory , for he adds 241 to a current Gupta-Valabhī to arrive at a completed Saka Here then, there is another piece of evidence that favours my view and goes entirely against Mr Fleet's view

The same is the case with the fourth date Valabhī 330 + 240 = 570 Mr Fleet has to suppose a change of the original reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhī year and make it begin in this case on the 1st of Kārttika But if we take 330 as the current year, 329 as the completed year, we have 329 + 241 = 570, where we apply Alberuni's equation

The question then stands thus —We have to add 241, the equation given by Alberuni, to the date-years in Inscriptions Nos 1, 2 and 5, and in the four in which Samvatsaras of the twelve year cycle occur, to convert them to the corresponding completed Śaka year arrived at by the astronomical calculation Mr Fleet says the years in the Inscriptions are current, and the reason is that it is natural they should be so My view is that they are expired years, and the reasons are :—

1st, the Hindu's usual, but not invariable, idea of a date;

2nd, the usage proved by me formerly for the Śaka dates and now for the Vikrama dates, though this era is not used for astronomical processes;

3rd, the unlikelihood of Alberuni's using the expired year in giving the Saka date, and and the current year in giving the corresponding Gupta date, and the proper interpretation of Alberuni's statement;

4th, the eclipse mentioned in the Morvi grant when identified with that of 826 Śaka expired confirms my view and disproves Mr. Fleet's If, however, it is identified with that of 827 Śaka expired, it strengthens Mr Fleet's view and weakens mine, but cannot disprove it against the mass of other positive evidence And my identification is more reasonable and natural, since in that case the interval between the gift and the issuing of the charter is three months and four days, while it is nine months and four days according to Mr Fleet's identification

5th, the date No 3 above admits of an easy explanation in harmony with known usage according to my theory; according to Mr Fleet's theory most improbable suppositions have to be made The same is the case with date No 4

Thus, the whole weight of the evidence is decidedly in my favour; and thus the Gupta year to which we add 241 to arrive at an expired Śaka year is a past year, i e, THE ADDITION OF 241 TURNS A PAST GUPTA INTO A PAST ŚAKA AND A CURRENT GUPTA INTO A CURRENT ŚAKA And thus Gupta 0 expired, i e, 1 current, corresponds to Śaka 241 expired and 242 current, and the year previous to Gupta 0 expired or 1 current corresponds to Śaka 240 expired i e, 241 current, and thus the EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

is 318–19 A D and NOT 319–20 A D as determined by Mr Fleet, and its first year was 319–20 A D.

Mr Fleet claims for his Mandasor Inscription "the final settlement of the question" of the initial date of the Gupta-Valabhi era I am of opinion that if Alberuni's statement and Colonel Tod's Veraval Inscription do not settle it, the Mandasor Inscription cannot For the date 493 occurring in that Inscription is referred to the event of the Ganasthiti of the Malavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know In that unknown year 493, reigned Kumāragupta as a paramount sovereign His average date is 113 of an unknown era, so that the equation is 113 $\pm$ x (years of the Christian era) = 493 $\pm$ y (years of the Christian era), that is, we have to determine the value of one unknown quantity, by means of another unknown quantity which cannot be done If, however, we know the value of x, i e , the epoch of the Gupta era, we shall from that determine that of y, i e , the epoch of the Mālava era, and vice versa

Dr Peterson, referring to Oldenberg and myself, held it to be already certain that the Gupta era began in 319 A D and arrived therefore at the conclusion that the Mālava era was the Vikrama era [1] Mr Fleet assumes the truth of the latter and arrives from it at the epoch of the former (p 125, Intr) But if we do not know either we can come to no conclusion However, so much can be said in favour of Mr Fleet's view, that of the hypothetical proposition 'if the Malava era is the Vikrama era, then the Gupta era began about 319 A D', the anticedent clause is probably true Thus the Mandasor Inscription, at the most, adds to the probability of the statement that the Gupta era began in 319–320, but cannot confer certainly on it, if it did not possess it before, i e , cannot finally settle the question It is settled by the statement of Alberuni and by Colonel Tod's Inscription, and the details in some of the

1 It is hardly fair to Dr Peterson that Mr Fleet should have made no allusion whatever to the fact that he (Dr Peterson) had read the Mandasor Inscription before him, and had quoted the verse in which the date is given showing that we have in it a Vikrama date bef re 544 A. D , and that Fergusson's theory must be abandoned,

other Inscriptions confirm the conclusion arrived at therefrom, that is, are consistent with it and do not go against it

But Alberuni's authority had been set aside and the information given by Colonel Tod's Inscription had been misconstrued; and the current of opinion that had set in against the true epoch of the era as derived from these two sources was so strong that many scholars had come to believe that the initial date 166–67 A D assigned to the era by General Cunningham was true I therefore endeavoured in my note on the Gupta era to draw attention again to these two sources, and show how the question was not left doubtful at all by them, and how the information derived from them was consistent with all that we knew about the Gupta and the other dynasties of the early centuries of the Christian era The details of the dates in some of the Inscriptions I went into, only with the object of showing that they were not opposed to the information derived from Alberuni and the Veraval Inscription I used General Cunningham's Tables of the years of the twelve year cycle, and though in two of the four cases, and in one more with a corrected date, I arrived at the conclusion wanted, still I forgot that the Christian years in General Cunningham's tables were arrived at by uniformly adding 78 to an expired Saka year, while I added 79 because it suited the purpose General Cunningham's Tables, I find, do not give the cyclic years mentioned in the four Inscriptions

Mr Fleet has gone fully into the details of all the Inscriptions with the assistance of the competent and zealous Hindu astronomer, Mr Shankar B Dikshit, and has materially contributed to the elucidation of the question, by bringing together and verifying the whole evidence, and though I can not agree with him in several of his conclusions, or approve of his treatment of the most vital matters, still the materials that he has placed before us deserve our acknowledgment I must, however, observe with reference to Mr Dikshit's theory of cyclic years reckoned from one helical rising of Jupiter to another with unequal divisions of the Naksatras, that though it agrees with the four Inscriptions and gives the correct Samvatsaras, still it is a question whether an astronomical year of 400 days that did not correspond with the usual luni-solar year, could have been used for the purposes of recording dates by ordinary people.

A NOTE ON DR. FLEET'S TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION

In connection with the examination of the claims of the Mandasor Inscription I have had to read Mr. Fleet's transcript and translation of it and find the following errors and omissions in both .—

P 84, ll 5-6 of translation—Mr Fleet translates शापप्रसादक्षमै by 'able to counteract curses' Now this is one adjective of मुनिभि or 'saints' who are spoken of as "rich in strict religious austerities" (तवितपोधनै) To such it is usual in Sanskrit literature and according to Hindu ideas to attribute the power of injuring or destroying one by a curse, and doing good by the benedictions The simple power of counteracting a curse is too low for them Hence the proper translation is "able to curse and confer favours" 'able to injure by a curse and confer favours by a blessing'

P 84 ll 25-26 We have here "decorative ear ornaments," which is a translation of मण्डवतंम taken as in apposition with तरु in the compound पुष्पावनम्रतरुमण्डवतंसकाया which qualifies भुव Ear ornaments are always decorative and it involves a tautology to call them decorative again Besides, though the Dictionaries give "ornament' as one of the senses of मण्ड, still it is not the usual sense of the word मण्डन is what we find in that sense On looking into the photolithograph of the Inscription I find that मण्ड must be read as खण्ड The letter which Mr Fleet reads as म is more like the last letter in the third line of the Inscription and thirteenth in the seventh line, each of which is ख The upper vertical stroke to the right hand of the loop of the letter looks far different from the real म which we have in many places तरुखण्ड is an expression that frequently occurs and means 'a collections of trees,' so that the whole expression means 'which has for ear ornaments, the collection of trees weighed down with flowers.'

P 85, ll. 8ff Mr Fleet here translates "other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of Kailāsa, * * (and) being adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees" Being curious to know, when I first read it, what these long buildings on the roofs of the

houses, adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees could be, I turned to the transcript and found that here Mr Fleet has mistranslated the expression दीर्घवलभीनि which occurs in the half-stanza कैलासतुगशिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभीनि सवेदिकानि at the end of the sixth line of the Inscription He takes दीर्घवलभीनि as a Karmadhāraya, अन्यानि as an adjective qualifying it, and makes it the nominative of the word आभान्ति But वलभि is feminine, never neuter; and still it is so here according to Mr Fleet's way of taking it. Besides, when अन्यानि is connected with the long Valabhis, the question arises why does he speak of these long buildings on the roofs of houses as 'other' Did he speak of them in the last Sloka? No दीर्घवलभीनि should be taken as a Bahuvrīhi meaning दीर्घा वलभयो यासु those 'in which there are long rooms on the roof,' and construed as an adjective of गृहाणि occurring in the last stanza, and to be understood or supplied here in connection with the word अन्यानि. And so we have, 'And other (houses) having long rooms on the roofs are beautiful, &c being adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees' वलभि is, according to Jagaddhara, सौधोपरिकुटि 'a room on the top of a palace,' such a one as that from the window of which Mālatī used to see Mādhava passing by the road below The groves of waving plaintain trees were thus not in the rooms on the roof but in the houses which had these rooms

P 85, ll 19-20 The word शुद्धि in ll 2-3, p 82 (transcript) has not been translated Freedom "from the excitement of surprise" was according to Mr Fleet's translation, one of the virtues of the Brahmans of Dasapura Similarly, "being never carried away by "astonishment" was a virtue in Bandhuvarman, l. 20, p 86 Now, freedom from surprise or astonishment is never found in the catalogue of the possible virtues of a hero, but freedom from arrogance or humility is, and the word translated by Mr Fleet as "surprise" in one place and "astonishment" in another is स्मयैर् in the one case, and स्मय in the other He would have found from any ordinary Dictionary that स्मय means 'pride' or 'arrogance' also, and that is its usual sense Has Mr Fleet not seen at all the first line of the second or opening stanza of Bhartrhari's Vairāgya Śataka बोद्धारो मत्सरग्रस्ताः प्रभवः स्मयदूषिताः ।?

P. 85 l. 24 Here Mr Fleet in his translation speaks of the

science of archery as pleasing to the ear Though he supplies "in which the twanging of the bow is", between "archery" and "pleasing" still this is by no means proper and cannot be In the transcript Mr Fleet's reading of the line with his corrections is श्रवणसुभगं धानुर्व्वेद्य दृढ परिनिष्ठिता। and his translation "Some of them (became?) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery pleasing to the ear" Here Mr Fleet supplies the Anusvāra on ग the आ in धा, and Anusvāra on द्य, and thus brings in an accusative which is not governed by anything and is therefore ungrammatical What is stated in the stanza is that some of the emigrants to Dasapura devoted themselves to a certain calling, some to another, and so on In this line as read by Mr Fleet there is no word which expresses 'some' Still he begins his translation of it by "some of them" without enclosing the expression within brackets to show that it is supplied by him Without such an expression the line looks awkward, and it cannot be supplied or understood by the rules of grammar All these difficulties, however, disappear when we have the true reading of the original Inscription before us. That true reading is श्रवणसुभगं गान्धर्व्वैन्ये दृढ परिनिष्ठिता। The सु of सुभगं is not distinct Mr Fleet's द्य is distinctly न्य in the photograph, and the left hand stroke representing ए is also visible though it is not distinct; so that this is न्ये What he reads as धा is distinctly गा with the आ traceable though not distinct, his नु is distinctly न्ध, and his र्व्वे is र्व्वै, the second stroke necessary for र्व्वै being wanting The ए on ग is not distinct, but it must have originally existed in the little white space above which represents a flaw in the stone If we compare the present word with गान्धर्व्वे which occurs in the beginning of the seventh line and which Mr Fleet has read properly, we shall have no doubt whatever that the true reading is that given by me And now the sense is also right, for it is this—"Some were thoroughly conversant with Music (the art of Gandharvas) which is agreeable to the ear".

P 85, l 31. Being "possessed of charming wives" appears in Mr Fleet's translation as one of the excellences of some of the settlers in Dasapura, along with wisdom and famous lineage This could scarcely be an excellence in them, at least it is not so, according to Indian notions Besides मनोन्यपत्न which is Mr Fleet's

reading is quite ungrammatical. As a Bahuvrihi adjective qualifying अन्ये it ought to be मनोज्ञवपुष्का by Pānini V 4. 153. This reading therefore is not correct. But the word is illegible in the copy of the Inscription, and I cannot say for certain what it must be. It may be मनोज्ञवपुष 'having charming bodies or forms' or मनोज्ञविभवा· 'possessed of pleasing prosperity' The ·former is more probable

P. 85, ll 36–37 मृद्वभि· in the second Pāda and the whole third Pāda स्वकुलतिलकभूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुदारै· । of a stanza in line 11 of the Inscription have not been translated

P 86, l 13 Here we have "who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and distressed" Virtue consists in fulfilling one's promise to every body, and not to persons in certain conditions only Besides, it is not the fulfilment of a promise made to them that we should expect to find spoken of in conncetion with the miserable and the afflicted Mr Fleet's reading which he thus translates is कृपणार्त्तवर्गसन्धाप्रदो He does not find the आ of सन्धा in the original, but supplies it सन्धाप्रद cannot mean "he who fulfils his promise" If it is a Sanskrit expression at all, it can only mean 'one who gives promises.' So that there is clearly some mistake here If now we turn to the copy of the Inscription, we shall find clearly न्त्व for Mr Fleet's न्ध, so that the word is सान्त्व सान्त्वप्रद is 'one who brings solace,' so that what the prince did was 'to bring solace to the miserable and the afflicted'

P. 86, ll. 32-33 Mr Fleet reads in line 17 of the Inscription, रामासनाथरचने as an adjective of काले As such the expression is unintelligible For, 'it being necessary to take it as a Bahuvrihi, it can only be dissolved as रामाभि· सनाथा रचना यस्मिन् i. e 'that in which a [certain] arrangement or system is accompained by women' This means nothing What arrangement can that be? What Mr Fleet reads as च is clearly व र is supplied by him as the letter is effaced in the original, but, certainly we can as well supply भ and read the expression रामासनाथभवने i e, 'that [time] in which there are lovely women in the house,' i e when there is no separation between husband and wife

Mr Fleet translates the next expression हुताशस्फुरन्नाशुचप्रतापसुभगे by "which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the

rays of the sun (shining) in the glens." Is the sun agreeably warm in the cold weather in the glens only, and nowhere else? Why should the word 'glens' be used then? The fact is Mr Fleet forgets that वर means ईषद् 'little,' 'in a small degree,' 'moderate' The sense of the expression will thus be 'which is agreeable with the moderated heat of the fire of the rays of the sun.' And that the heat is moderated in the cold weather everybody knows

P 87, ll 9–10 Mr Fleet speaks here of "the close embrace of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (their) mistresses, completely under the influence of love" So, then, the breasts of young men were bulky, plump, and beautiful! Acquaintance with the descriptive manners and ideas of Sanskrit authors is not necessary to enable one to see that there is something wrong here But if he does possess that, he will at once see that this must be a description of women and not of men as well The original expression is स्मरवशगतरुणजनवल्लभाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तपीनोरुस्तनजघनघनालिङ्गन, which is equivalent to स्मरवशगा ये तरुणजनास्तैर्वल्लभाश्च ता अङ्गनाश्च तासां विपुलकान्तपीनान्यूरुस्तनजघनानि तेषां घनमालिङ्गनम्। It is the young men who are "completely under the influence of love", and it is they who embrace the thighs, breasts and hips, of their beloved wives, which are bulky, beautiful, and plump In पीनोरु, the latter part must be taken as ऊरु meaning 'a thigh', and not उरु in the sense of 'bulky,' as Mr Fleet takes it You have thus three limbs spoken of, those which are principally the object of description in the case of women, and there are three adjectives to qualify them, to be taken in order Or the three adjectives might be taken as qualifying each one of the three limbs

I must here complain that a good many photo-lithographs of the Inscriptions in Mr Fleet's Volume are illegible and consequently of little use to scholars who wish to examine the Inscriptions for themselves

NOTE.

Since the preceding pages were ready for the Press, I had occasion to look into my old papers, when unexpectedly I found two impressions of the Morvi plate taken by Dr Burgess by beating

a slip of thin and soft paper, a little moistened, into the letters by means of a small brush In these impressions, I do find an indentation on the left hand side of ग, which is the twelfth letter in the fourth line from the bottom, and a small faintly indented curve connecting it with the upper left hand side flourish of the letter, showing that the second stroke necessary for the syllable गो did exist in the plate There is thus no question whatever that the true reading is गोमि As the original plate is not forth-coming, I have asked Dr Peterson to take charge of these impressions as Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit them in the Society's Museum, where they will be available for inspection.

A SECOND NOTE ON THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume XLII, 1913, pp. 199f]

In my article on the epoch of the Gupta era published in Jour Bom. As Soc, Vol XVII[1], I have stated, "the date 493 occurring in that (Mandasor) Inscription is referred to the event of the Ganasthiti of the Mālavas What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know" The impression of a new Inscription recently discovered at Mandasor, prepared by Mr D R Bhandarkar of the Archaeological Department and shown to me by him, enables me to make a contribution towards an elucidation of the point The verse giving the date is thus worded —

श्रीर्मालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते ।
एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ॥

The translation is —"the excellent quaternion of hundreds of years increased by sixty-one laid down authoritatively by the Mālava-gana and named Krta having arrived" The word Āmnāta means 'laid down'—authoritatively of course,—since what is Āmnāta is to be treated with respect and scrupulously followed In समाम्नाय: समाम्नात: । the sense is · the Samāmnāya (Nighantus or thesaurii) has been laid down (Nirukta I 1) Similarly we are told in I 20, that the later Rsis 'samāmnāsisuh,' i e, laid down authoritatively or composed this work, and the Vedas and the subordinate treatises In साक्षाच्चोभयाम्नानात् (Vedāntasūtra 1 4 25) Āmnāta has the same sense In the present case, therefore, the sense is the year 461 has arrived which has been laid down authoritatively by the Gana of the Mālavas This authoritative laying down cannot be predicated of this one year only but of all previous and subsequent years. If these years were laid down by the Gana, they must either be so by their having composed a long list, or directed that the years following a certain event should be

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1 Now included in this Volume earlier, at pp. 384 ff The quotation would be found on p. 398 ante —[N. B U]

ordinally numbered. Since a list must go on ad infinitum, i e, be interminable, the former supposition cannot be accepted. The Gana of the Mālavas, therefore, must be supposed to have directed the use of an era beginning with a certain specific event. What must be the specific event? Light is thrown on this point by the following verse in Yasodharman's Inscription at Mandasor —

पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेष्वेकान्ननवतिसहितेषु ।
मालवगणस्थितिवशात् कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥

"Five hundred and eighty-nine years written down for the purpose of knowing the time in consequence (ablative) of the moment [moving cause or impelling force (Vasa)] of the condition as a Gana or compact political body of the Mālavas having elapsed" That the word Vasa should be understood as the moment or impelling cause is confirmed by the manner in which the date is given in Bandhuvarman's Mandasor Inscription The words are —

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानाम्   ॥

The sense is "four hundred and ninety-three years having elapsed since the condition (i e, formation) of the Mālavas as a Gana" Ganasthityā is to be taken as an ablative, the Visarga having been dropped in consequence of the following soft consonant This then was an era, the impelling cause of which was the Sthiti of the Mālavas as a Gana, that is, it was the era of the formation of the Mālavas as a Gana, i e, their forming a body corporate or body politic

The Mālavas were originally a tribe which followed the occupation of fighting They were soldiers by profession, and could enter any body's service as such, and did not form a Gana or an incorporated society for political and other purposes Yājña-valkya, speaking of a person who takes away the wealth of a Gana, necessarily implies that a Gana is a corporate community with common property and common interest (II 187). Occurring side by side in ibid II 192 with Sreni a guild, and Naigama or a body of merchants trading with foreign countries, Gana must mean a body corporate of persons following the same occupation such as that of fighting (Vijñānesvara and Aparārka).

I translate Ganasthiti as existence or condition as a Gana. It should be taken as a Karmadhāraya or appositional compound (गणश्चासौ स्थितिश्च, i e गणात्मिका or गणरूपा स्थिति) It cannot be taken as गणस्य स्थिति For in Bandhuvarman's Inscription the expression मालवाना गणस्थिति would in that case involve what is called Ekadesi anvaya, or the latter part would be a Sāpeksa compound, i. e, Mālavānām would have to be connected with gana, i e, the first or subordinate part of the following compound and not with Sthiti, the principal part, as it should be When we take the compound as a Karmadhāraya, Mālavānām is to be connected with Sthiti which is the principal noun as qualified by the word Gana.

A Gana or a corporate and political union the Mālavas constituted in B C 56, and laid down authoritatively (Āmnāta) that that event should be commemorated by making it the epoch of an era I now proceed to shown by direct evidence what the condition of Mālavas was in ancient times and how it changed subsequently as indicated by the Inscriptions we have gone over

In an article in this Journal,[2] Vol I, p 23, I have stated that Alexander the Great met in Central and Lower Punjab two tribes of warriors named Malii and Oxydraæ From Pānini's Sūtra V 3 114, and from the instances given by his commentators, it appears that in the Punjab there existed in ancient times two tribes of the names of Mālavas and Ksudrakas who are called Āyudhajīvins, i e, sustaining themselves by the use of warlike weapons, in other words, who followed a soldierly profession Under the Sūtra IV. 2. 45, Patañjali discusses why Ksudraka and Mālava are included in the group ' Khandikā " and others, and in the course of the discussion, he and the Kāsikā mention that these two tribes belong to the Ksatriya order—he, impliedly, and Kāsikā expressly. Since the two names occur in the group and as it is reasonable to suppose that the first three words of a group at least come down from Pānini himself, Ksudrakas and Mālavakas were known to Pānini himself

The Mālavas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata also, sometimes among northern peoples (II 32 7; III 51 26), and sometimes

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2 That is, the Indian Antiquary —[N. B. U.]

among Southern, with Dākṣiṇātyas and Āvantyas (VI. 87 6-7) It also mentions westerly (Pratīcya) and northerly (Udīcya) Mālavas (VII 7 15; VI 106 7) Varāhamihira too places the Mālavas among the Northern peoples inhabiting the Punjab (Br S 14 27). In speaking of a man of the name of Mālavya he represents him to be ruling over Mālava, Bharukaccha, Surāstra, etc (Br S 69 10-12), so that the Malava country is here alluded to as occupying the same position as it does in modern times Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta carries his cloud-messenger over the country now named Malwa but does not give that name, and mentions Dasārnas, Vidisā, Avantis, Ujjayinī, and Dasapura

So that it is clear that according to these authorities the Mālavas in ancient times lived in the North, that is, in the Punjab and that they subsequently migrated southwards While in the Punjab, they were simply āyudhajīvins or professional soldiers, and do not seem to have formed a political union Their migration to the south and settlement in the region just to the north of the present Malwa in the modern state of Jaipur is evidenced by a very large number of coins found at Nagar near Tonk Most of these bear the legend ' Mālavānām jaya' and some 'Malavaganasya jaya ' The very fact that coins were issued proclaiming the triumph of the Mālavas or the Mālavagana, shows that at the time when they were issued, the Mālavas had already constituted themselves into a political unit with a regular system of Government That system appears to have been republican and not monarchical, since the legends on the coins bear the name of the tribe and its Gana Probably afterwards the names of the leaders of the Republic were engraved on the money that was issued, and perhaps in the course of time, the Republic was succeeded by a Monarchy The Mālavas gradually moved southwards and gave their name to the whole country now called Malwa

Another instance of a race moving from the South to the north[1] and giving their name to the countries they occupied from time to time is that of Gūrjaras They first settled

1 Thus the text But it is evident that we have to read here "from the North to the South" See immediately below [N B U]

in Punjab and a district of that Province is called Gujarata to this day Then they migrated southwards by western Rajaputana which was formerly called Gūrjaratrā or the protector of the Gūrjaras This name, however, that part of the country soon lost, and in the form of Gujarat it was transferred to a southern province which is now called by that name

The years of the era founded by the Mālava republican body had the name Krta given to them according to the new Inscription, and there are two dates at least in which the years are given with the epithet Krtesu prefixed to them In the absence of any specific information we can only suppose that they were called Krta, because they were "made or prepared" for marking dates by the Mālava government

A MEMORANDUM ON SOME ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS FOUND IN A MOUND AND IN THE BRAHMAPURI HILL, NEAR KOLHAPUR

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XIV, 1880, pp 147ff]

(The paper was read before the Society on 9th November 1878)

The stone box found at Kolhapur contained a casket made of crystal This casket must have contained a relic Such caskets of relics placed in stone receptacles of various shapes are found in Buddhistic Stūpas or topes in all parts of the country, including Afghanistan In the topes Nos 2 and 3 at Sanchi, the receptacles found by General Cunningham were stone boxes of the same shape as the one before us (see his Bhilsa Topes, pp 286 and 297); while those discovered by him at Manikyal in the Punjab and at Kiyul in Behar had the shape of a Stūpa (see Arch Reports, vol II, p 167, and vol III, p 157). The caskets found at Manikyal and in a tope at Sonari, near Bhilsa, were, like the Kolhapur one, made of crystal, those at Kiyul of gold and silver, while those at Sanchi of steatite The mound, therefore, at Kolhapur, which contained this receptacle of a relic-casket, must have an old Stūpa buried in it about that part where the receptacle was found, and this is confirmed by the fact of the workmen who dug this out having come across some brickwork while they were doing so. The whole mound itself cannot, I think, be the Stūpa; for while the diameter of the mound is about eighty feet, its height is only about eight Even making allowance for the possibility of the Stūpa's having sunk into the earth, the diameter is out of proportion to the height Very likely, therefore, along with a Stūpa some other structures, such as Vihāras or chapels and cells for the Buddhist mendicants, of the nature of those found by General Cunningham at Jamalgarhi (Arch Reports, vol V, p. 47), are buried in the mound.

The articles found in the Brahmapuri Hill contain amongst them objects of Buddhistic adoration, and also what may be called

the apparatus of Buddhistic worship. We have an image of a Stūpa or Caitya, several circular things which look like prayer-wheels, and a flower or incense pot Along with these, a number of old copper or lead coins were also found, and of these twenty have been presented to the Society The metallic vessel which contained these articles was, we are told, found between "two brick walls about eight feet apart" These must be the walls of a hollow parallelopiped, or a well such as was found by General Ventura in the great tope at Manikyal, at a distance of twelve feet from the top The depth of this well was thirteen feet, and its length and breadth ten, that is, the walls of the well were ten feet apart At its bottom was found a copper vessel, just like the Kolhapur one, containing coins, a gold ring, and other articles (see Mr Thomas's ed of Prinsep, vol I, pp 93–96, and Arch. Reports, vol V, pl xxii) I therefore think that the Brahmapuri hill also has a Stūpa buried in it at this place. From the fact that a hoard of coins was found in the vicinity of this some years ago, and from other indications, it appears that the Brahmapuri hill conceals the ruins of an old city Everywhere in India we find such ruins in the form of mounds or hillocks; and in some places the new cities are built on these hillocks, that is, on the ruins of the old.

If excavations are made in other parts of the mound and the hill at Kolhapur, and deeper diggings at the places where the relic-box and the copper vessel were found, I have little doubt that traces of ancient buildings and several interesting articles will be found

' The characters on the lid of the casket-receptacle are older than those of the times of the later Āndhrabhrtyas, and are to be referred to the first or second century of the Christian era The Inscription may be translated "The gift of Bramha caused to be constructed by Dhamagutta (Dharmagupta)' This must refer to the Stūpa

The coins sent to us are of two sizes, ten larger and ten smaller. On the obverse of the former we have a bow and an arrow, and round it the following legend रञो गोतमीपुतस विडिवायकुरस, "Of the king Gotamīputa Vidivāyakura" The डि appears as सि in some of the specimens. On the reverse we have a Caitya composed of

rows of semi-circles with a tree on the right hand side, a Svastika above, and a pedestal below with a wavy or serpentine line The Svastika is indistinct on some of the pieces Of the smaller ones four bear the same legend as the above, but the tree on the reverse is above the Caitya, and the Svastika on the left side. The others bear the same device on the obverse and the reverse, but the legend on three of them is रञो वासिठीपुतस विडिवायकुरस "Of the king Vāsithīputa Vidivāyakura ;" on two, रञो मढरिपुतस सेवलकुरस "Of the king Madharīputa Sevalakura " and that on one is imperfect These coins belong to the same species as those described by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and by Mr Thomas in the Indian Antiquary for September 1877 The kings Gotamīputa, Vasithīputa, and Madharīputa belonged to the Āndhrabhṛtya or Sātavāhana dynasty, and their names occur on the Inscriptions at Nasik, Kanheri, Nanaghata and Junnar But the words or names Vidivāyakura and Sevalakura do not occur either in the Inscriptions or on the coins found near Dharanikot, in Tailangana, figured and described by Sir Walter Elliot in the Madras Literary Journal, vol III, nor on those belonging to the same gentleman and described by Mr E. Thomas in the paper I have spoken of The legends on the latter have, after Gotamīputasa, Siriyañña Satakanisa, and after Vāsithīputasa, some letters which certainly must be read as Putumavisa This name occurs independently without the words Vasithiputasa on another coin in the same collection The device of the Caitya occurs on the obverse of these, but instead of the Svastika we have a crescent on the top, and of the tree, a conch shell ; while on the other side we have, instead of the bow and arrow, sometimes a horse, and sometimes four wheels joined by a cross Clearly, then, the Eastern or Tailangana series is different from the Western or Kolhapur series, and they must have been struck at different mints As I have shown in my paper on the Nasik Inscriptions, the capital of the Āndhrabhṛtya kings was Dhanakataka, which General Cunningham has identified with Dharanikot, in Tailangana, in the vicinity of which the Eastern coins were found The Western, therefore, which are somewhat different from them in type, were probably stuck on this side of the country

by the viceroys of those kings deputed to govern these provinces, and the names Vidivāyakura and Sevalakura are probably the names of these viceroys, i e, the legends bear the names of the kings as well as of their representatives in this part of the country. The number of coins of Gotamīputa is so large that he appears to me to be the later Gotamīputa, whose proper name was Yajñasrī, and I agree with Pandit Bhagvanlal in thinking that Madharīputa was the son of Pudumayi or Vasithīputa, named Śivaśrī in the Purānas

The following correspondence regarding the place of discovery &c, of these Antiquarian Remains was published in the JBBRAS in a foot-note as a part of this paper —[N B U.]

No 6686 OF 1877

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
Bombay Castle, 29th November 1877

FROM JOHN JARDINE, Esq.

Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

TO THE SECRETARY, BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith copy of a letter from the Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, No. 650, dated the 16th instant, and of its accompaniment, and to intimate that Colonel Schneider has been requested to send to you direct the stone box and the contents referred to by him

2 The sketch alluded to in para 4 of the State Karbhari's letter is also appended

I have &c,
(Signed) JOHN JARDINE
Acting Secretary to Government.

No 650 OF 1877

Political Agent's Office,
Kolhapur, 16th November, 1877

FROM COLONEL F SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent, Kolhapur and S M Country

TO C GONNE, Esq,

Secretary to Government, Bombay

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Karbhari of Kolhapur relating to a stone box found underground in one of the State gardens at Kolhapur, and to request that they may be for-

warded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information. The box and the contents will be sent to the Society direct on receipt of Government instructions.

I have &c,
(Signed) F SCHNEIDER
Political Agent,
Kolhapur and S M Country

No 890 OF 1877

FROM MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE,
State Karbhari, Kolhapur

TO COLONEL F SCHNEIDER,
Political Agent,

Kolhapur and S M Country
Kolhapur, 16th November 1877

SIR,—I have the honour to submit a short report on the discovery of a stone box bearing an Inscription in the Māgadhī dialect, and holding in it a small casket made of a transparent stone, or crystal Sphatika in the Kharala Garden, situated on the eastern slope of the town of Kolhapur This interesting discovery took place on 27th October, 1877 under the following circumstances

2 The ground about the little bunglow in the said garden is lately being put into order, and, to make the place even, extra earth was required for filling up the gaps which lay here and there The convicts who were engaged in preparing the ground were ordered to take the earth for this purpose from a small piece of rising ground which stood uncultivated at the distance of about 350 yards to the east of the bunglow, and which was shaded with a babul-tree grown over it This rising ground was in the shape of a gently sloping irregular-shaped mound about eighty feet in diameter, its height nowhere exceeding seven or eight feet over the level of the adjoining fields It was overgrown with grass, and appeared a proper place from whence to take supplies of earth required elsewhere About a foot beneath the grassy surface, the spade encountered a layer of burnt bricks, which excited curiosity Nothing extraordinary was at first expected, as burnt bricks are often discovered in several places in and about the town, being the remnants of old brick clamps or mounds of ruined brick structure In the course of digging, the convicts came to what appeared to be a block of stone, which they at once turned up by thrusting a crowbar under it When it was extricated from the surrounding bricks it was found to be a box consisting of two pieces, one a hollow quadrangular stone trough of soft red later te as is found in the bed of the Pañcagangā river here, holding a small transparent crystalline casket within, and the other a lid of the same stone exactly filling the mouth of the trough But unfortunately the act of extrication proved so violent that before it was discovered to be a box the lid fell off, and the inside transparent casket was thrown out, which broke into

two pieces Its contents, if at all any, were evidently scattered about and lost, and escaped the sight of those present at the time The circumstance was reported soon after, and I repaired to the spot and made the necessary inquiries Some old letters were seen engraved on the inside of the lid and a facsimile of the Inscription was made and sent to Mr Bhagvanlal Pandit, of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, who has considerable experience in deciphering old Inscriptions

3 Mr Pandit Bhagvanlal is of opinion that the Inscription is in Māgadhī characters, and consists of the following words --

अम्हस डाने धर्मगुंतन कारित

From the characters employed, the Inscription appears to be two thousand years old, or even older still, and seems to be a monument of the veneration in which the remains of Buddha were held by his followers long after the Nirvāna or decease of their great founder The Nirvāna took place about 500 or 450 before the Christian era and the remains were buried in four places, namely, (1) Kusī Nagara, in the Gorakhpur District, where the dead body was burnt, (2) Gayā Ksetra, where Buddha received his education , (3) Benares or Kāśī Ksetra, where he first proclaimed the tenets of his religion , and (4) Kapilavastu, in the Gorakhpur District, where he was born Splendid tombs were constructed to protect these remains but in the time of king Aśoka, about 225 years after Buddha, the devotional feeling ran so high, that the remains were taken out of the several tombs, and distributed among the numerous disciples scattered over the whole country The fortunate receivers of these precious relics, which consisted generally of ashes or bones of the body of Buddha, carefully deposited their invaluable possessions in gold or marble caskets, which were securely placed in stone receptacles prepared for the purpose, the whole being protected by mounds of bricks or stones

All these circumstances closely correspond with the particulars of the present discovery

4 I beg to append a sketch of the ground with the bunglow standing on it, and of the mound wherein the box was discovered, also drawings of the box and of the little casket Perhaps a careful reading of the above by Mr Bhagvanlal Pandit, or some other gentlemen well versed in deciphering such hieroglyphics and Inscriptions, will throw more light on the subject , and I beg that this brief account may be submitted to Government, that the same may be referred to the Royal Asiatic Society

5. The stone box and casket are well preserved, and kept here A careful search was made in the brick mound and the surrounding ground, but nothing of any importance was discovered

I have &c.

(Signed) MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE,

State Karbhari, Kolhapur.

No 7020 OF 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
Bombay Castle, 18th December, 1877

FROM JOHN JARD NE, Esq,

Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

To THE SECRETARY, BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith a copy of a letter (with accompanimerts in original) from the Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, No 695, dated the 8th instant, together with the parcel of coins and other articles of antiquarian interest therein referred to, and to request that they may be brought to the notice of the President and Members

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN JARDINE,
Acting Secretary to Government.

No. 695 OF 1877.

FROM COLONEL F SCHNEIDER,
Political Agent, Kolhapur and S M Country,

TO JOHN JARDINE, Esq,
Secretary to Government, Bombay

Political Agent's Office, Kolhapur,
Shirol, 8th December, 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Karbhari of Kolhapur, regarding the discovery of old coins and other articles of antiquarian interest on the Brahamapuri Hill, near the town of Kolhapur, and to request that they may be forwarded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information.

2 The articles alluded to in the Karbhari's report have been sent by parcel post.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. SCHNEIDER,
Political Agent, Kolhapur and S M. Country.

No. 963 OF 1877.

From MAHADHO WASUDEO BARVE,
State Karbhari, Kolhapur

To COLONEL F SCHNEIDER,
Political Agent,

Kolhapur and S M Country.

Kolhapur, 6th December, 1877.

SIR,—I have the honour to report the discovery of a copper vessel containing some lead and copper coins, metallic vessels, and articles of various sizes and shapes, and some gold beads and pieces of gold ornaments, which was found buried underground about six feet below the surface of the earth on the top of the Brahmapuri Hill, situated on the north-western side of the town of Kolhapur close to the river Pañcagangā This treasure of old and interesting antiquities was found under the following circumstances

2 There is a bridge under construction over this river, and the hill itself forms the eastern abutment side of it Some cuttings in the hill were made about four years back, to provide easy approaches, and in one of these some lead and copper coins were then discovered, a few of which were at the time sent to the Royal Asiatic Society For a few days past, some convicts have been at work here, effecting a further cutting for the wing walls of the hill-side abutment pier, and on the 22nd November 1877, in the course of digging, they came to some metallic vessel, which was afterwards carefully unearthed and extricated The rim of the vessel was sunk inside under the pressure of the earth above it, and the pan had so far corroded, evidently owing to its being embedded in earth for centuries past, that its mouthpiece was found almost separated from the body In the pan were found the undermentioned articles —

(a) Brass or Kāṁsa metal vessels of various shapes, such as are to be seen in old Jain temples in connection with idol-worship Many of them, of the shape of saucers, are very thin and much oxidized and crumbled , others with ornamental mouldings on

(b) Several lead and copper coins having impressions on both sides quite like those that were found on the same hill in 1873.

1,865 lead, 100 copper.

(c) Amongst the mass of earth and coins were found some perforated beads of gold, and pieces of gold ear ornaments well worked up The metal is found to be superior gold The beads are composed of twelve concave sides each, and are hollow inside

Gold beads, 33

Piece of ornaments, 4

3. The digging exposed some old brick work, and the copper pan was lying between two brick walls about eight feet apart, which probably formed part of some building of the time The top of the hill was, it appears, once inhabited by certain people, which is evident from the brick stuctures that are discovered here and there Tradition goes that the place was deserted about seven hundred years ago by the Jains as a place of residence, and the antiquities now fonnd may have been the property of some party who had to give up his house abruptly and leave everything behind He was probably a brazier, who made castings of such utensils Some of those now discovered look as if they were simply taken out of the cast moulds and left unfinished Close by, the pieces of some metallic vessel were unearthed subsequently. The metal is evidently copper, and a few pieces are herewith submitted

4 I beg to append photographs of some of the vessels and pieces that were found entire, as also of the big pan, all of which were arranged for the purpose on a camp table , also drawings to transfer-linen of the same

5 I beg also to forward ten coins of each sort, lead and copper, having the best impression on, and four gold beads and two pieces of the gold of the ear ornament All the remaining articles are retained here for exhibition at the State Museum at the Town Hall [1]

I have, &c ,

(Signed) MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE.

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1 The photographs, plans &c, referred to in this report, are not reproduced here [N B. U]

REMARKS ON THE MERKARA COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 365f.]

The genealogy of the kings of Cera as given in the grant is :—

1. Kongani I.
2. Mādhava I.
3. Hari Varmma.
4. Visnu Gopa.
5. Mādhava II.
6. Kongani II.

These names agree with the 8th to 12th and 15th given by Prof. Dowson from the Tamil chronicle in the Mackenzie Collection. But the fifth in the above list is represented in the chronicle as Visnu Gopa's adopted son, and a very short tenure is assigned to him, for he had to give place to Krsna Varmma, a son afterwards born to Visnu Gopa This Krsna Varmma and the next king Dindikāra, son of Kulati Rāya of the family of Visnu Gopa, are not given in the grant. The sixth king Kongani is placed after Dindikāra in the Tamil chronicle, and is mentioned as the son of Krsna Varmma's younger sister As his relationship with any other king of the dynasty is not given, it is to be understood that the Krsna Varmma here meant is the one who is represented in the list as the son of Visnu Gopa But in the grant before us, he is mentioned as the son of Mādhava, represented in the chronicle as the adopted son of Visnu Gopa, and the Krsna Varmma whose nephew he was, is spoken of distictly as "the sun in the sky of the prosperous race of the Kadambas" In this place therefore the grant gives us information, while the chronicle, as appears from the abstract, is silent

The date of the grant is 388 What era is meant we do not know. The dates in the chronicle are in the Śaka era, from which

it appears likely that this is also to be referred to that era. If so the date is 466 A. D. Krsna Varma of the Kadamba race is very likely the second in Mr. Elliot's list, since there is no other of that name in the list His date also is thus fixed by this grant to be 466 A D or thereabouts. Mr Elliot assigns to the predecessor of this king the date 500 or 520 Saka, i e, 578 or 598 A D., but his sources of information regarding this dynasty were so scanty that very little faith can be placed in the date.

Prof Dowson's abstract assigns to Kongani II, the last king in the above list, 288 Śaka, that is, he is placed a hundred years before he actually flourished according to the grant But whether this is a mistake of the chronicle itself, I cannot say The accession of the fourth king after Kongani II is represented to have taken place in 461 Śaka The four kings then beginning with Kongani II reigned according to the chronicle for 173 years, i. e, each reign lasted for 43 years, which is very improbable, since each of them was his predecessor's son But if 388, the date given in the grant be taken, the duration would be at least 73 years, which would give 18 years to each king The first date in Prof Dowson's abstract must therefore be considered to be an error, while the second may be depended on. The Professor considers all the dates to be too early and proposes new ones But Prof Lassen inclines to defend the chronology of the chronicle,* which is supported by this grant

* Lassen (Alterthumskunde, II, p 1017–18) says —' With reference to the chronology it must be remarked that, besides quoting the years in which grants of land were made by the princes whose acts are narrated, there occurs also mention of the years according to the cycle of sixty years in use in the Deccan, which may be regarded as evidences that the unknown writer of the work in question found a well arranged chronology for the reigns of the kings whose acts he has described According to the dates of his land-grants, Malladeva, the twenty-eighth king of Cera, reigned in the years 878 and 898, the seventh, Vikramadeva I in the year 178. These dates give a total rule of more than seven hundred and twenty years for twenty-two princes,—for these dates cannot be regarded as the first and last years of the reigns of the two kings Hence each sovereign would have ruled on an average about thirty-three years, a period which certainly seems inadmissible, because the utmost average length of the reigns of Indian kings amounts only to twenty-five years (Thomas,

JRAS, Vol XII, p 36) From this difficulty, we have two ways of escape. The first is by supposing that the reigns of the Cera kings have been lengthened in order to give them a higher antiquity, and starting from the fixed datum of the subjugation of the Cera sovereigns about 900, to shorten the period so that Vikrama I should reign [as Dowson supposes] only in the 6th century Against this hypothesis it may be observed that in such a case the supposition would have to be made, that the author of the history of these kings had wilfully falsified the numbers of the Inscriptions, or had read them wrongly, which, considering the acknowledged excellency of his work does not appear to me possible It should also be remarked further that the contemporary of Vikrama I of Cera, was the Pāndya king Vamśaśekara, who probably reigned in the second century [see Wilson, JRAS, Vol III, p 215] I considered it proper therefore to follow a different course and to support the traditional chronology as being upon the whole correct My reasons for this are as follows — Of the Bellāla king it has already been noticed [Dowson, in JRAS, Vol. VIII, p 24], that they reigned on an average nearly 30 years, so that a somewhat longer duration appears admissible in this case Secondly. it must be remarked that it is true that of the Cera princes only two (the 12th and 14th) had short reigns, and two others (the 11th and 27th) abdicated the throne, but one (the 8th) reigned fifty-one years, and one (the 23rd) was the great grandson of his predecessor, so that to him a tolerably long rule may be allowed Only against the commencement of the dynasty and against the first date can a valid objection be raised The 5th king, Govinda, is said to have made a grant of land in the 4th year of the Śakas or in 82 A D, it may, however, be legitimately doubted whether this chronology had come into use in the Southern districts of India so soon after its establishment To the insecurity of the chronology of the earliest period of the kings of Cera also, the circumstance that of the fifth it was only known that he was of the same descent as his four predecessors but that his father was not known—bears testimony We can scarcely go far wrong, however, if we place the rise of the Cera dynasty back in the commencement of our era, because at that time the two adjoining kingdoms of the Pāndyas and Cola already existed

Lassen's notices of the Cera kings, (both in II, pp 1017-1020, and IV, pp 243-245) are founded almost exclusively on Dowson's article above referred to [This note is by the Editor of the Indian Antiquary N B U.]

A NOTE ON THE GANJAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872 pp 221f]

The Ganjam Inscription is in four large tablets, and each of the four sheets of lithographs published by the Madras Government represents one On comparing them with the published transcripts ot the Asoka Inscriptions, I find that the first two sheets contain the celebrated edicts discovered at Girnar, Dhauli and Kapurdi-Giri Wherever there are differences in the copies of the Inscriptions from these three places, this agrees, as might be expected, with that at Dhauli It is much to be regretted that it is worn away in many places, still it will be of use in clearing up some of the many difficulties attending on a correct interpretation of the Asoka Inscriptions

The Girnar copy of the edicts consists of fourteen tablets In the present Inscription, each line of which contains on an average about 52 letters, the first tablet is entire, and occupies four lines and a quarter The second, of four lines, has lost about 12 letters towards the end in each line The third extends over three lines and a quarter, but of these nearly one half of each line is effaced. Each of the first five lines of the fourth tablet has lost one-half while the sixth and seventh have lost more, and in the eigth line, which ends the tablet three words are wanting What remains of the fifth tablet is from two to seven letters in the beginning of each of the seven lines of which it consists This ends the first sheet The sixth tablet at the head of the second sheet is nearly entire, anh consists of six lines and three quarters, the seventh occupies two lines, the second of which has got only twenty letters in the middle, but the first is nearly entire, having lost only some two or three letters. Each of the first three lines of the eighth tablet has got a few letters in the beginning, in the middle and at the end. The fourth line ought to consist only of eleven letters, of which we have ten But the transcriber puts down dots after the tenth letter up to about the end ot the line, where he gives the letter Annāyeca, which are the final letters of the first line of the next tablet, and consequently do not belong to the

eighth ; and in the sheet before us they occur at the end of that line also This may be a mistake either of the original engraver or of the transcriber The ninth tablet consists of six lines all mutilated ; about one-third only or a little more in one or two cases, being preserved. The tenth tablet has lost the first halves of the three lines composing it The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Girnar tablets are wanting both in Dhauli Inscription and in the present one The fourteenth however, occurs here though apparently it is wanting at Dhauli, but more than half of each of the two lines, of which it consisted, is effaced

The Inscriptions in the third and the fourth sheets correspond to the separate edicts at Dhauli translated by Prinsep and after him by M Burnouf. The readings in these have been so unsatisfactory that the discovery of the same or nearly the same edicts at Ganjam cannot but be welcome to all students of Indian Antiquities But we fear these sheets will not be of much use in clearing up the difficulties The letters in them are in many cases ill-formed and imperfect, for instance, where we ought to have Devānām piye hevamāha,- we had in the third sheet, Devalam piye pevam ha, and in the fourth, Devānam naye hevam anha The first D in this latter is unlike the usual D or any other known letter The small strokes which mark the vowels and distinguish, in a few cases, one letter from another are not so carefully copied as is desirable Mr Graham says "The third and fourth *Inscriptions are regularly wormeaten away, evidently* by rain and atmospheric effects A good deal of the right hand edges of both has been almost totally obliterated with here and there a letter or the suggestion of one remaining" The transcript on the third sheet, however, is more legible than that on the fourth And with greater care it is perhaps not impossible to obtain still better transcript It is to be hoped the Madras Government, which has already exhibited so laudable a zeal in this matter, will again attempt to secure better copies.

A TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE BUDDHISTIC INSCRIPTION AT GHOSRAWAN

[From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Volume XLI, part I (History, Literature &c), 1872, pages 271-74]

The following Transcript and Translation was published by A M. Broadley in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in his account of the Buddhistic Remains of Bihar, pp 266ff Broadley says :—" The village of Ghosrāwan lies exactly six miles to the north-east of the Indraśaila peak at Giryak, eight miles to the east of the great Nālandā monastery and ten miles North-east of the ruins of Rājagrha " The Inscription was discovered on a " fine piece of black basalt " to the east of a mound near the ruins of the Ghosrāwan Vihāra and temple A reading and translation of this Inscription was secured also from Babu Rajendralal Mitra, the famous scholar of Bengal contemporary with Sir R G. Bhandarkar Rajendralal s Transcript and Translation appears at pp 268-271 of the same Journal

--[N B U.]

TRANSCRIPT

ॐ श्रीमानसौ जयति सत्वहितप्रवृत्तसन्मानसाधिगतनिनयो
मुनीन्द्रः । क्लेशात्मना दुरितनक्रदुरासदान्तः संसारसागरसमुत्त- १
रणैकसेतुः ॥ अस्यास्मद्गुरवो बभूवुरबलाः संभूय हर्तुं मनः का लज्जा
यदि केवलो न बलवानस्मि त्रिलोकप्रभौ । इत्यालोचयते २
व मानसभुवा यो दूरतो वर्जितः श्रीमान्विश्वमशेषमेतदवनाद् बधो
सवज्रासनः ॥ अस्त्युत्तरापथविभूषणभूतभूमिर्देशोत्तमा न- ३
गरहार इति प्रतीतः । तत्र द्विजातिरुदितोदितवंशजन्मा नाम्नेन्द्रगुप्त
इति राजसखो बभूव ॥ र [?] ज्जै [?] कया द्विजवरः स गुणी गृ- ४
हिण्या युवतो रराज कलया मलया यथेन्दुः । लोकः पतिव्रतकथा प-
रिभावनासु सङ्कीर्तनं प्रथममेव करोति यस्याः ॥ ताभ्यामजा- ५
यत सुतः सुतरां विवेकी यो बाल एव कलितः परलोकबुद्ध्या । सर्वो-
पभोगसुभगेपि गृहे विरक्तः प्रव्रज्यया सुगतशासनमभ्युपे- ६
तुं ॥ वेदानधीत्य सकलान् कृतशास्त्रचिन्तः श्रीमत्कनिष्कमुपग-
म्य महाविहारं । (five letters illegible) मथस प्रशमप्रशस्य सर्व-
ज्ञशान्तिमनुगम्य ७

तपश्चचार ॥ सोयं विशुद्धगुणसम्भृतभूरिकीर्त्तिः शिष्योऽनुरूपगुणशी
लयशोभिरामः । बालेन्दुवत्कलिकलङ्कविमुक्तकान्तिर्वन्द्यः ८
सदा मुनिजनैरपि वीरदेवः ॥ वज्रासनं वन्दितुमेकदाऽथ श्रीमन्महा
बोधिमुपागतोऽसौ । द्रष्टुं ततोऽगात्सहदेशिभिक्षून् श्रीमद्यशोवर्म्म ९
पुरं[1] विहारं ॥ तिष्ठन्नथेह सुचिरं प्रतिपत्तिसारः श्रीदेवपालभुव-
नाधिपलब्धपूजः । प्राप्तप्रभः प्रतिदिनोदयपूरिताशः पूषेव दारित १०
तमःप्रसरो रराज ॥ भिक्षोरात्मसमः सुहृद्भुज इव श्रीसत्यबो-
धे निजे नालन्दापरिपालनाय नियतः सङ्घस्थिते य स्थितः । येनैतौ स्फु ११
टमिन्द्रशैलमुकुटश्रीचैत्यचूडामणी श्रीमण्यव्रतसम्वृतेन जगतः
श्रेयार्थमुच्छ्रापितौ ॥ नालन्दया च परिपालयितयेह सत्या श्रीम १२
द्विहारपरिहारविभूषिताङ्गया । उद्भासितोऽपि बहुकीर्त्तिविधाप-
नित्वे यः साधु माधुरिति साधुजनैः प्रशस्तः ॥ चिन्ताज्वरं शमयताऽ
र्त्तजन १३
स्य दृष्ट्या धन्वन्तरेरपि हि येन हतः प्रभावः । यश्चेप्सितार्थपरिपूर्ण-
मनोरथेन लोकेन कल्पतरुतुल्यतया गृहीतः ॥ तेनैतद्-
त्र कृतमात्ममनोवदच्चैर्वज्रासनस्य भवनं भुवनोत्तमस्य । संजायते १४
यदभिवीक्ष्य विमानगाना कैलासमन्दरमहीधरशृङ्गशङ्का ॥ सर्वं १५
स्वापनयेन सत्वसुहृदामौदार्य [?] मभ्यस्यता सम्बोधौ
विहितस्पृहं सह गुणैर्विस्पर्द्धिवीर्ये [?] ननथा । अत्रस्थेन निजे
निजाविह वृहत्पुण्याधिकारे १६
स्थितौ येन स्वेन यशोध्वजेन घटितौ वंशावदीचीपथे ॥ सोपानमार्ग-
मिव मुक्तिपुर [?] स्य कीर्त्तिमेता विधाय कुशलं यदुपात्तमस्मात् [?] १७
कृत्वादितं मापितरं गुरुवर्गमस्य सम्बोधिमेतु जनराशिरशेष
एव ॥ यावत्कूर्मो जलधिवलया भूतधात्री बिभर्त्ति ध्वान्तध्वंसी १८
तपति तपनो यावदुग्रांशुरश्मिः । स्निग्धालोकाः शिशिरमहसो
यामवत्यश्च यावत्तावत्कीर्त्तिर्जयतु भवनं वीरदेवस्य शुभ्रा ॥ १९

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1 The Rev Dr. J Wenger who kindly undertook the laborious task of correcting the proofs of these Inscriptions, remarks that the word Vāsanauvana does not occur in the text The word actually used is Jaśovarmapura, Varma being the title of a dynasty of kings Vāsanauvana may of course be a synonym The Inscription appears to be metrical, but has not been printed as such Strange to say, tbe Sanskrit is far purer than is usually found in Inscriptions of the Pāla kings [This note is signed " A M B ", i e, A M Broadley Esq, C S, the author of tho paper on " The Buddhistic Remains of Bihar, " in which the above Transcript and Translation was included]—N B U

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the glorious lord of Munis, who, by his mind, operating for the good of all creatures, found out the system of truth and who is the only bridge for crossing the ocean of worldly existences; which [bridge] the crocodiles of sins, producing affliction, cannot approach May he the glorious being, seated on the seat of adamant (Vajrāsana) under the Bodhi tree, protect the whole universe,—he, whom the fancy-born (god of love) shunned from a distance, as if reflecting that there was no shame in it, if he single-handed were powerless to attract the mind of lord of the three worlds, when his superiors who had gathered together, proved unable to do so. There is a country known as Nagarahāra, the land of which is the ornament of Uttarāpatha (Northern India) There was a Brahman there of the name of Indragupta, the friend of the King, who was born in a family, that had risen high The meritorious and excellent Brahman shone like the moon with his spotless digits,--united to a wife,--[one word illegible] a wife, of whom mention is first made by people in going over the stories of faithful wives From them was born a son who was exceedingly thoughtful, and whose mind even in childhood was filled with thoughts of the next world, and even in his house, rich in all the means of enjoyment, he remained unconcerned [took to no pleasure], in order, by the renunciation of the world, to adopt the system of Sugata. Having studied all the Vedas and reflected on the Śāstras, he went to the Vihāra of Kaniska, and following him who was praiseworthy on account of his severity, and who was all-knowing and free from passions [two or three words illegible], he practised, penance. The pupil of one who, by his pure virtues, had obtained great fame, he, Viradeva - graceful by the possession of befitting virtues, character and fame, and with a lustre free from the stains of Kali, was like the new moon, an object of adoration even to the Munis. He once came to the great Bodhi to pay his respects to the Vajrāsana (adamantine seat), and thence went to see the mendicant priests of his country to the Yaśovarmapura Vihāra. While staying here for a long time, respected by all and patronized by the King Devapāla, he, having obtained[1] splendour [of know-

1 The three epithets here have a double meaning, one applicable to the sun, and the other to Viradeva

ledge or power], outfilling by his every-day rise all the quarters, and dispelling darkness, shone like the sun. Appointed to protect (govern) Nālandā, he the friend of the Bhiksu, as if he were his arm, abided by his true knowledge concerning the Church[1] (or congregation Samgha), and having already taken the vow of a Śramana, erected, for the good of the world, two crest-jewels in the shape of Caityas, on the crown (summit) of Indraśaila. Though shining bright by means of Nālandā,[2] who having been protected by him, had her body adorned with a splendid row of Vihāras, he was praised by the good people saying " well done, well done," when he became the husband of the wife Great Fame. Dispelling the fever of anxiety of afflicted persons by a mere look, he put to shame the might of Dhanvantari,[3] and was regarded as equal to a Kalpataru,[4] by people whose desires he had fulfilled by granting to them all objects, wished for By him was erected this house for the best thing in the world, the adamantine seat (Vajrāsana), as lofty as his own mind, which the movers in the aerial cars mistake for a peak of Kailāsa or Mandara, when they look at it With his desires fixed on enlightenment (or true knowledge Sambodhi) and with a heroism rivalling his other qualities, he, practising liberality to the friends of all creatures by giving his all, and exercising his holy authority here, hoisted the banner of his fame on the two poles of his family,[5] (family of father and mother) in Uttarāpatha Since in the shape of his famous deeds, he erected a staircase to ascend the place of final emancipation and obtained religious merit, may all people without exception, headed by his father and all the elder ones, attain to real knowledge (Sambodhi) ! May the bright family of Viradeva last in the world as long as the tortoise bears the earth begirt with the seas, as long as the Sun with his warm rays, the destroyer of darkness, shines, and as long as the cool-beamed Moon renders the nights bright !

1 That is, it is of great importance to have a united Church and to construct Vihāras for congregational purposes.

2 Compared to a wife

3 Physician of the gods

4 A heavenly tree having the power of granting anything desired

5 The word " Vamśa " means " race or family " or a " pole or bamboo, " and is here used in both the senses

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WRITINGS INCLUDED IN THIS VOLUME.

the Śaka dates, and (3) the text of Hemādri's Rājapraśastis; [First Edition, Second Edition published in 1895]; (pp. 1-198).

1887

14 A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java; (pp. 353-362).

1889

15 The Epoch of Gupta Era [with a Note on Dr. Fleet's Transcript and Translation of the Mandasor Inscription]; (pp 384-405).

1892

16 A Transcript and Translation of the Deoli Plates of the Rastrakūta King Krsna III; (pp. 293-305).

17 Two Sets of Rāstrakūta Copperplates from the Navasari District, (pp. 318-334).

18 A Kalacuri Copperplate Grant from the Belgaum District; (pp. 340-352)

[1895]

[Second Edition of the Early History of the Deccan].

1897

19 The Rāstrakūta Karhad Plates of Krsna III; (pp. 275-292).

1898

20 A Note on Three Bricks with impressions of Figures and Letters on these found at Tagoung, Some 200 Miles above Mandalay in Burma, (pp 363-365).

1899

21 A Revised Transcript and Translation of the Rāstrakūta Deoli Plates of Krsna III of Śaka-Samvat 862, (pp 306-317).

1905

22 The work done by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society towards the Elucidation of Indian History by the study of Inscriptions; (pp 199-213).

1913

23 A Second Note on the Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman; (pp. 406-410).

ABBREVIATIONS &c.

Ait. Brāh. = Aitareya Brāhmana.

Arch. S. of W I = Archaeological Survey of Western India (Reports)

Cunningham : Arch Report = Cunningham's Reports on the Archaeological Survery of India.

Ep Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

Ind Ant. = Indian Antiquary

JASB or JBAS. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta

JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London

P. S. and O C = Pāli, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions.

Trans Bomb Lit Soc = Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society

Trans. Or Congr = Transactions of the Congress of Orientalists (held at different places in Europe).

Vikr or Vikr. Ca. = Vikramānkadevacarita, edited by G. Buhler, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 14.

APPENDICES TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

APPENDIX A

A NOTE ON THE GUPTA ERA

IN order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over Western and Northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarat in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas

Now in some of the Inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs, the dates are referred to Guptakāla or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, viz, that the era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years But it has nothing whatever to do with it Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true.

On the other hand, his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case Albiruni was also informed that the Saka era was the epoch of the defeat of the Saka king by Vikramāditya This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Sodhala in his commentary on Bhāskarācārya's Karanakutūhala—a Manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government

during 1882–83—tells us that "the epoch when Vikramāditya killed Mlecchas of the name of Sakas is ordinarily known as the Śaka era." But we know that in Mangalīsa's Inscription at Badami it is spoken of as the era of the "Coronation of the Śaka king", that Ravikīrti in the Inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Śaka kings, and that, it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the Śaka era does his statement about the initial date of that era.

The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, viz, that the Guptas were exterminated in Saka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era If the Inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Saka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year But if instead of that we declare that they ceased to reign in Saka 242, we in effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition, which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous, has been proved to be erroneous

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhī era was the same seems to some not "at all probable" To my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthu-

mous son. The dates, therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era

What, then, could have been the Valabhī era, if it was never used by the Valabhī princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced The era used by the Valabhī princes must be the Valabhī era One certainly would expect that it should be so The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhīs in Surāstra and used by them was called the Valabhī era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty, for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhī princes themselves The era introduced and used by the Valabhīs was that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhī eras was the same is true From an Inscription at Somanath discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Saka 242 was the first year of the Valabhī era Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Saka, as stated by Albiruni

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to, to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Saka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date —

1 The date of Budha Gupta's Pillar Inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Āsādha, in the Gupta year 165
2 Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāvaiśākha.
3 Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuja.
4 Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahācaitra
5 Rājā Samksobha's Inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvāyuja
6 An Eclipse of the Sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 5th Phalguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era.

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241 years posterior to the Saka. To convert a Saka date into a Valabhī date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241. And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Saka corresponds to 712 Valabhī or Gupta. We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in Inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the past year and in about a third of the instances, the current year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year. If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into the current Saka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former; while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241.

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta 165 + 241 = 406 Śaka. If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Āsādha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshman Chatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it was a Thursday. Since our astronomical methods are based on the past Saka year, and even our present Saka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as Saka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A. D. General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A. D., adding 240 + 78 = 318 to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Āsādha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday." If, however, he had added 241 + 78 = 319 and taken 484 A. D. to correspond to Gupta 165, he would have arrived at the correct result.

Then as to the dates in years of the 12-year cycle, General Cunningham himself has placed before us the means of verifying them. In the Tables published by him in Volume X of the Archæological Reports, the cyclic year corresponding to the current Christian year is given, and if we subtract 78 from the number representing the year, we shall arrive at the current Śaka year.

Now, if we take the Gupta figured dates to represent the years that had elapsed before the cyclic year commenced (and this way of marking the dates is, as remarked above, the one we usually find) then 173 Gupta, the third date in the above, corresponds to 414 Saka past and 415 current, 241 being added in the first case, and 242 in the second If we add 78 to 415 we shall get the current Christian year, which is 493. Now in General Cunningham's Tables we do find the year Mahāśvayuja given as corresponding to 493 A D. In the same way, 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current, + 78 = 511 A D., current. In the Tables we find 511 put down under Mahācaitra Similarly 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Saka current, + 78 = 529 A D current which was Mahāśvayuja.

Now, as to the first of the dates in the 12-year cycle, 156 Gupta + 242 + 78 is equal to 476 A D, which however is Mahācaitra instead of Mahāvaiśākha Here there is a discrepancy of one year; but such discrepancies do sometimes occur even in Saka dates and the years of the 60-years' cycle given along with them, and some of them will be noticed in the note forming the next Appendix They are probably due to the fact that the frequent use of the past or expired year and also of the current year led sometimes the past year to be mistaken for the current year, just as we now mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the Inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157 Now 157 Gupta + 242 + 78 = 477 A D, which is Mahāvaisākha, according to the Tables [1]

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaiśākha,

1 Though by using General Cunningham's Table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 78 to the past Saka, while I have added 79, i e, the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a past year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a past year And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the Inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute (1894).

Śaka 827 The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the current year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta past, for 585 + 242 = 827 It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of Phālguna Sudi mentioned in the grant For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in Vaisākha and the deed executed in Phālguna [1]

I have thus shown that Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A D and 190 A D proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E Clive Bayley respectively But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds; for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albiruni The date on a copper-plate grant by the last Śilāditya of Valabhī hitherto known is 447 This Śilāditya is also styled Dhrūbhata in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhata of Hwan Thsang who visited Valabhī in 640 A D The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added it, corresponds to 766 A D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Śilāditya or Dhrūbhata nearer to the date of Hwan Thsang's visit.

But the identification of the last Śilāditya with Hwan Thsang's Druvabhata cannot stand In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of kings, and says they were nephews of Śilāditya of Malwa and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata was son-in-law to the son of Harsavardhana If they were nephews of the king of Malwa they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Śilāditya of Valabhī was his

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1 There was an eclipse also in Śaka 826 on the new-moon day of Kārttika, so that Gupta 585 past + 241 = 826 Śaka This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question see my paper on the Epoch of the Gupta era, JBBRAS, Vol. XVII, pp. 80 ff.

father, and among the kings of Valabhī we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena. They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV The younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata Nothing important is involved in the suffix Bhata It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rao are among us the Marathas Sena, Simha, and Bhata were the Valabhi honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310, and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV, is 326 The first corresponds to 629 A D (310 + 241 + 78 = 629), and the second to 645 (326 + 241 + 78 = 645) It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A. D at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhi

The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based, as it must have been, on contemporary evidence, as his statements about the Saka and Vikrama eras were I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawad in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E Clive Bayley are not.

We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhis were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence Candragupta II must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 93 This corresponds to 260 A D, and 283 A D, on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A. D, and 190 A D, respectively.

Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304 If the era to which it refers is the Saka, it corresponds to 382 A D, that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Candragupta II The Saka era will therefore not do Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 248 A D, which of course is consistent with Candragupta's date 260 A D or 283 A D If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradāman's 72 must correspond to 16 A D, Rudradāman's grandfather Castana will have to be placed about B C 4 But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A D, tells us that Ujjayinī was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Castana Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old

It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozene, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baithana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios" Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer may mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud" As to this I have to observe that the analogy does not hold good A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful, and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance For Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura, was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Pulumāyi and Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī, since as

Viḷivāyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhapur coins Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India, and these, from the natives of the country And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him were No ground whatever has been adduced in support of such a supposition. In the Periplus which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned, but Polemios and Tiastenes are not On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided" If Tiastenes lived before him, and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the Peirplus to have noticed him, especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene Tiastenes, Polemios and Baleocuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates. Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the Śaka era The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the Śakas who ruled over the country in every way probable The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A D, and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 Śaka current or 319-320 A. D. as the first current year of the

Gupta era ; for his 93 past will then correspond to 412-413 A D And in this way Rudradāman's 72 will correspond to 150 A D; and Castana's date will be about 130 A. D, i e. anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years

Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming

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APPENDIX B

A NOTE ON THE ŚAKA DATES AND THE YEARS OF THE BĀRHASPATYA CYCLE OCCURRING IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

There are certain difficulties with reference to the Śaka dates and the cyclic years or Samvatsaras occurring in the Inscriptions which require to be cleared up The current Śaka year (A D 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, Subhānu In the Southern Provinces and the Madras Presidency the current Śaka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same The first question, then, is, "Do the dates in the Inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning? ' and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year?"[1] We have also to consider whether the Śaka dates in the Inscriptions represent the number of years that have expired before the event recorded in them or the current year in which the event took place

Mr Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the Śaka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column The current Śaka year corresponding to that cyclic year, is the one given in the next line in the first column Thus against Śaka 855, the date of the Sangali grant of Govinda IV of the Rāstrakūta dynasty, we have in the third column, the cyclic year Vijaya, which shows that 855 years of the Saka era had expired before the Vijaya year began, while the current Saka year corresponding to Vijaya was that given in the next line, viz 856. Mr Sewell follows the Madras reckoning If we interpret the tables

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1 It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that Śaka 1805 was the current year in 1883 84 I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 Śaka was not current in 1883-84 A D but past, and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct In the previous note also I have stated that "we now mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year" (in 1883-84), so that there is no possibility whatever of anybody misunderstanding my meaning.

according to the Bombay mode, the Śaka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current Saka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year Subhānu, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the Śaka dates and cyclic years occurring in the Inscriptions with those in the Tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above

In the analysis of Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions published by Dr Fleet and Dr Burgess, there are 97 cases in which the Śaka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given On comparing these with the tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given Saka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the Inscription These are --

Nos 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102, 109, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 189, 201, 214, 215, 219, 229, 230 (first part), 240, 241, 243, 283, 286

Thus in Inscription No 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the Bahudhānya, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables

In 28 cases the Saka date given in the Inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs These are .—

Nos 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 89, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 194, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281

In No 19, for instance, the Śaka date is 1184 and the cyclic year Durmati In the Tables, Durmati occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and Dundubhi is the year marked against it

Now on the supposition that the Inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the Śaka date represents the number of Śaka years that had expired before the current cyclic year of the Inscription, and in 28 it shows the current year of that era If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current

year, and those in the next 28, the future year and not the past. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the Inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the Inscriptions give the past Śaka year, there is a large number in which the current year is given and not the past

I have also compared other dates with the Tables, and the result I give below —

	Śaka date	Cyclic year	What the Śaka date represents
Kanarese grant of Govinda III, Rāstrakūta	726	Subhānu	Current year.
Radhanpur grant of do	730	Sarvajit	Do
Kṛsna II or Akālavarsa, completion of the Jaina Purāna	820	Pingala	Do.
Do, in a Jaina temple by Cīkārya	824	Dundubhi	Years elapsed
Govinda IV, Sangali grant	855	Vijaya	Do
Kakkala, Karda grant	894	Angiras	Do
Tailapa's accession	895	Śrimukha	Do
Satyāśraya, Kharepatan plates of Ratta	930	Kīlaka	Do.
Jayasimha Jagadekmalla, Miraj grant	946	Raktāksi	Do.
Mārasimha Śilāhāra of Kolhapur grant	980	Vilambin	Do.
Gaṇḍarāditya Śilāhāra of Kolhapur, Ins No I	1032	Vikṛti	Years elapsed
Do Do grant translated by Pandit Bhagvanlal	1032	Virodhin	Current year
Do Kolhapur Ins No 2	1040	Vilambin	Years elapsed.
Vijayārka do. do. No 4	1065	Dundubhi	Current year
Someśvara III, Bhūlokamalla, Abhilasita Cintāmaṇi	1051	Saumya	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II, Kolhapur Ins No 6	1101	Vilambin	Current year
Do do „ No 8	1112	Sādhārana	Years elapsed.
Do Dr Taylor's grant	1113	Virodhin	Do.
Do Kolhapur Ins No. 8	1114	Paridhāvin..	Do.
Singhana Yādava, Khedrapur Ins	1136	Śrīmukha	Current year
Kāmvadeva Cālukya	1182	Raudra	Years elapsed.
Mahādeva Yādava, Pandharpur Ins.	1192	Pramoda	Do.
Rāmacandra Yādava, Thana	1194	Angiras	Do
Do do do.	1212	Virodhin	Current year.

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, viz 1 to 2 In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others The Inscriptions of the early Cālukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as Gatesu, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as Pravartamāne, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped, and in the course of time, the sense, to express which they were used, was also forgotten, and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the past or expired year without knowing that it is past year

And there are in the Inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real past year came to be regarded as the current year Thus in No 86 of the Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, Śaka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikrti Now, according to the Tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikrti was 912 and the current year was 913 This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that Śaka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the Inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911 The same is the case with the Nos 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the Śaka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them

In some cases the Śaka dates are in advance of the Samvatsara or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vani-Dindori grant of

Govind III, the Śaka date is 730 and the Samvatsara Vyaya, and in the Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarsa, we have Śaka 775 and the Prajāpati Samvatsara Now the Śaka years immediately preceding Vyaya and Prajāpati were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the current years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be past years and the writers of the documents desirous of giving the current years added 1 and put them down as 730 and 775 The date in No 79 of Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions is three years behind the current Samvatsara, and that in No 228, four years; No 221 has 1113 for 1121; and No 246, 1492 for 1485. These must be considered to be mistakes

The Śaka dates given in the preceding pages represent in *most* cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned Thus " in 855 " means *after 855 years of the Śaka era had expired.*

APPENDIX C

INTRODUCTION TO HEMĀDRI'S VRATAKHAṆḌA

In the critical notes D. represents the MS in the Deccan College Library, No 234 of A 1881-82, D 2 another recently added to the Collection, S the MS belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No 657, Kh the MS belonging to Khasgivale, and G the MS procured by Gangadhar Sastri Datar See Section XIV, first page, note 2

* श्रीगोपालमपारवैभवभवस्वच्छन्दलीलालय
सान्द्रस्निग्धतमाङ्गकोमलदलश्यामाभिरामाकृतिम् ।
कूजत्कोकिलकामिनीकलरवप्रोल्लासिगोपाङ्गना-
गानस्फीतपवित्रचित्रचरितव्रातं नमस्कुर्महे ॥ १ ॥

उन्मीलत्कमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विबुद्धप्रभ
मागःसारविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन संसेवितम् ।
नित्यानन्दपरागमङ्गसुभगं वन्दारुवृन्दारक-
श्रेणीभृ[1]ङ्गमनङ्गवैरिचरणाम्भोजद्वयं पातु वै ॥ २ ॥

* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S and D 2, but they occur fully in D and Kh which contain the shorter Praśasti In G which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other

१ मङ्ग for भङ्ग D Kh २ न॰ for ञ D Kh

Rājapraśasti I.

जीया[1]न्नूतनभूतसर्गसमयाविर्भावसंभावना-
तु[2]ष्यन्नल्पभुजङ्गपुङ्गवशिरःश्रेणीशतैर्वन्दितः ।
कल्पान्तोपरमेषु नाभिकमले प्रोद्दामसामस्वर-
स्वैरोच्चारणचारणायितविधिव्याधूतनिद्रो हरिः ॥ १ ॥
अस्ति प्रशस्तं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शय्यागृहं क्षीरमयः पयोधिः ।
यदीयपीयूषरसायनेन स्वर्लोकभाजामजरामरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥
स दानचिन्तामणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमश्रीजननैकहेतोः ।
निर्व्याजमुष्मादुदभूदमन्दानिस्यन्दमा[3]नामृतबिन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥
ततस्तनूजो विबुधप्र[4]धानो बुधः सुधादीधितिगर्भसूतः ।
बभूव तस्मादथ चक्रवर्ती पुरूरवाः पुण्यप[5]थानुवर्ती ॥ ४ ॥
अभजत ज[6]निमस्मादायुरायुः प्रजानां
नघुपदनिदानं ज्योतिरासीज्जनेऽपि ।

१ जायान्नू° S जीवन्नू° G २ °न्नल्प° S न्नल्प G ३ ° मानां G मानी S. ४ प्रतापैः for प्रधान G. ५ र्त्रा° for पथा° S. D2 ६ जन S D2 जसि G for जनि.

नृपतिरथ ययातिः ख्यातिमानप्यमुष्मा-
दयमपि यदुमूर्तिं[1] कीर्तिमाविश्चकार ॥ ५ ॥

यदोरदोषविशदैर्यशोभिरभिशोभितः ।
अन्ववायः स एवायमवाप यदुवंशताम् ॥ ६ ॥

ततः क्रोष्टा तस्मादजनि वृजिनीवानपि नृप-
स्ततो जज्ञे राजा क्षितिपतिरिह स्वाहित[2] इति ।
नृशङ्कुस्तत्पुत्रः समभवदथो चित्ररथ इ-
त्यतो जातः ख्यातः स किल शशबिन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥

ततः पृथुश्रवा वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।
ततः सुयज्ञ उशना सितेयुरिति च क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥

सूनुस्तस्य मरुत्त इत्यनुपमः प्रोद्दामदोर्विक्रम-
स्तस्मात्कम्बलबर्हिरुज्ज्वलयशः[3] प्रक्षालितक्ष्मातलः ।
एतस्मादुदियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्नृप-
स्तस्माद्भूरितुरङ्गमेधमुकुटी[4] राजाजनि ज्यामघः ॥ ९ ॥

ततो विदर्भः क्रथकुन्तिवृष्णिनिवृत्तिसंज्ञाः परतो दशार्हः ।
व्योमा[5] च जीमूत इति क्रमेण जाता नरेन्द्रा विकृतिश्च वीरः ॥ १० ॥
तदनु भीमरथः पृथिवीपतिर्नवरथश्च ततो रथिनां वरः ।
दशरथः शकुनिश्च करम्भिरित्युपदिशन्ति पुराणपरायणाः ॥ ११ ॥
देवरा[6]जस्ततः श्रीमान्देवक्षेत्रस्ततो मधुः ।
ततः कुरुवशो राजा[7] पुरुहोत्रः क्रमादभूत् ॥ १२ ॥

अथायुरस्मादथ सात्वतो[8]ऽभूदथान्धकोऽस्मा[9]द्भजमानसंज्ञः ।
विदूरथस्तत्परतोऽपि शूरराशिः[10] प्रतिक्षत्र इति क्षितीशः ॥ १३ ॥

बभूवाथ स्वयम्भोजस्ततोऽपि हृदिकोऽभवत् ।
असूत सोऽपि धर्मात्मा राजानं देवमीढुषम् ॥ १४ ॥

निस्त्रिंशनिर्भिन्नवैरिपूरस्ततः क्षितिं पालयति स्म शूरः ।
ततोऽपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विश्वहेतोरपि हेतुरासीत् ॥ १५ ॥

वृन्दारवृन्दारकवृन्दमौलिमन्दारमालासुरभीकृताङ्घ्रिः ।
आसीदमुष्मादसुरावनीभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारिः[11] ॥ १६ ॥

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१ मूर्तिं S D 2 मूर्तिं G २ स्याहित S स्ताहित G ३ यशा S G ४ मखि S G
५ व्योमावृ S व्योमाय G व्योमात्त D 2. ६ देवरात D 2 ७ नाम for राजा G ८ सत्वतो D 2.
९ ०न्धकस्मा० G S १० So both MSS, also D 2. But there must be a mistake. The name of Śūra's son शोणि is disguised as राशि Perhaps the reading is शूरशोणि. ११ पुरा मुरारि S पुरारि D. 2.

बभूव प्रद्युम्न किल कुसुमधन्वा मधुरिपो-
स्त्रिलोकीवीरोसौ तनयमनिरुद्धं प्रसुषुवे ।
ततो भूभृत्पक्षक्षपणनिपुणेनैव[1] महसा
परिस्फूर्जन्वज्रं[2] शतमखसखं प्रादुरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥
वज्रस्य सूनुः प्रतिबाहुरासीद्धार्मिकृतक्ष्मापतिचक्रवाल ।
तस्मापि सम्राडभवत्सुबाहु[3] प्रासूत सोय चतुरस्तनूजान् ॥ १८ ॥
तेन ते सार्वभौमेन तनया विनयान्विता ।
विभज्य वसुधाचक्रं चक्रिरे पृथिवीश्वरा ॥ १९ ॥
यथाविभाग वसुधामशेषा तेषा तदा पालयतां चतुर्णाम् ।
दृढप्रहारी दिशि दक्षिणस्या प्रभुर्बभूव प्रथमात्कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥
सर्वेऽपि पूर्व मथुराधिनाथा कृष्णादितो द्वारवतीश्वरास्ते ।
सुबाहुसूनोरनु दक्षिणाशाप्रशासिनो यादववंशवीरा ॥ २१ ॥
तत स राजा निजराजधानीमधिष्ठित श्रीनगर गरीय ।
लेभे सुत सेउणचन्द्रसंज्ञ यत्संज्ञया सेउणदेशमाहु ॥ २२ ॥
अथ धाडियसो महीपतिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव भिल्लम ।
अजनिष्ट ततोपि राजगिस्तदनु[5] प्रादुरभूत्स वाद्गुगि[6] ॥ २३ ॥
जज्ञे धाडियमस्तत[7] प्रतिभटक्ष्मापालकालानल-
स्तस्मादाविरभूत्प्रभूतविभवो भर्ता भुवो भिल्लम ।
तस्मात्महसा महानिधिरसौ श्रीवेसुगिर्जज्ञिवान्
हन्ता भीष्मभुजाजमामसुहृदा तस्मादभूदर्जुन[8] ॥ २४ ॥
अजस्रमाविष्कृतदानवारि प्रभूतहस्तार्चितदानवारि ।
तत स राजा विरराज राजश्रियो विलासैर्जितराजराज ॥ २५ ॥
आसीद्विलासी नृपतेरमुष्मात्स भिल्लम पल्लवितोरुकीर्ति ।
स वाद्गुगि स्वाद्गुगिरा कवीना स्तोत्रैकपात्र[9] भवति स्म तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥
ततो मही महीपाल[10] पालयामास वेसुगि ।
सहतप्रा[11]यदुद्दामधाममामन्तसतति ॥ २७ ॥
ततोपि नृपभिल्लम समरसीमभीमक्रिया-
निरर्गलभुजार्गलायुगलकाललीलालय ।

१ स्व for एव D2 २ परिस्फूर्ज्जद्वन्य S, G totally incorrect and there is a lacuna D 2 has वज्र for वन्य of S 3 The Purānic genealogy ends here. Subāhu, however, is there called Sucāru. ४ दायवतां D 2 ५ राजुगिस्तद्नु D2 ६ स वाहुगि: S सुबाहुद्गुण G ७ This is the reading of S, D 2 and G probably for धाडियस But the name according to Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant was धाडियप्प. ८ S and G have a wrong and unintelligible reading here. ९ पाव S. पावे G. for पात्रं. १० The visarga is dropped in S. and G. ११ सहत D 2.

ततः समस्तमेदिनीपतिपतङ्गभङ्गवत:
प्रतापशिखिलङ्घित[1]त्रिजगदङ्गण सउण ॥ २८ ॥

समुद्धृतो[2] येन महाभुजेन द्विषा विमर्दात्परमर्दिदेश ।
आस्थापि चालुक्यकुलप्रदीप कल्याणराज्येपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥

परम्मदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वधूनत्रघनाम्बुवृष्टी[3] ।
प([4]) रम्मर्दनेव रुचा चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिर व्यराजि ॥ ३० ॥

तस्मादनन्तरमनन्तभुजप्रताप[5]. क्षोणीपति. समभवत्स ह[6] सिंहराज ।
तस्यानुजस्तदनु भुवलय बलीयानत्रायन[7] त्रिजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥

लञ्जीपुरात्समानीय कर्पूरतिलकं गजम् ।
स कर्पूरवत् पूर्णमकरोत्परमर्दिन[8]: ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्मादप्रतिमल्लाभून्मल्लगि[9]वल्लभ क्षितः ।
उदजृम्भत जम्भारिभूरिदोर्दण्डचण्डिमा ॥ ३३ ॥

आसाद्य सद्य· स्वनिवासहेतो[10] श्रीपर्णखेट नगर रिपुभ्य ।
अहारि[11] येनोत्कलभूमिपालादुत्तङ्गमातङ्गघटा हठेन ॥ ३४ ॥

तस्मादमरगाङ्ग : सबभूव भुव पतिः ।
अथाविन्दत गोविन्दराजः साम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

ततो मल्लगि[12]पुत्राभूद्भूपालोमरमल्लगि[13]· ।
अथ कालीयबल्लाल: पालयामास मेदिनीम् ॥ ३६ ॥

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुरक्ता यदुवंशलक्ष्मी: ।
श्रीभिल्लम तस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्याजराजद्भुजमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥

य·[14] श्रीवर्धनमाससाद नगर क्षोणीपते[15]रतलात्
यः प्रत्यण्डकभूभृत च समरे दुष्ट व्यजेष्ट क्षणात् ।
यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टक क्षितिपति श्रीचिल्लण[16] जघ्निवान्
कल्याणश्रियमप्यवाप्य विदधे यो होसलेश व्यसुम्[17] ॥ ३८ ॥

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१ S G have लङ्घित: त्रिजग० २ समुद्धतो D2 ३ व्रता for घना S G ४ Here S. ends, and the following is based on G and D2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect Manuscript. ५ ०प्रताप G ६ साहि सिंहि G. ७ This word in G must be some mistake as it has no significance here D 2 has नुयामु which also a mistake ८ नान्दित: for मर्दिन· G ९ G has मुल्लगि० १० स्वनिवास is सनिवाह in G ११ आहारि D 2 १२ मुल्लागि D 2 १३ ०लोपर० D 2 १४ स D2 for य: १५ रसलात for रतलात G १६ वाज्रिण for चिल्लण G १७ G. has षमु and D 2 दपस for व्यसुम्

स दण्डिकामण्डलमण्डयित्रीमकम्पसंपत्प्रभवैर्विलासैः ।
चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरिशप्रसाद[1]संसादितदिव्यशक्तिः ॥ ३९ ॥

तदनु मदनमूर्तिः कार्तिकीचन्द्रसान्द्र-
द्युतिविशदयशोभिः शोभिताशावकाशः[2] ।
अभवदवनिपालो जैत्रपालः करालः
प्र[3]हरणरणरङ्गत्तुङ्गत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गः ॥ ४० ॥

दोःक्षित्वा रणरङ्गदेवयजने प्रोद्दस्तशस्त्रस्रुवः
भङ्गीभिर्जगतीपतीन्हुतवता येन प्रतापानले ।
[4]तिलङ्गाधिपतेः पशोर्विशसनं रौद्रस्य[5] रौद्राकृतेः
कृत्वा पुरुषमेधयज्ञविधिना लब्धस्त्रिलोकीजयः ॥ ४१ ॥

तस्मादभूद[6]भिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः
कीर्तेः पदं स किल सिङ्घणदेवभूपः ।
उद्दण्डदोर्युगलगर्वितवैरिवीर-
[7]सीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभानुः ॥ ४२ ॥

येनानीयत मत्तवारणघटा जज्जल्लभूमिभृतः
कक्कल्लादवनीपतेरपहृता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ।
येन क्षोणिभृदर्जुनोऽपि बलिना नीतः कथाशेषतां
येनोद्दामभुजेन भोजनृपतिः काराकुटुम्बीकृतः ॥ ४३ ॥

य[8]द्भम्भागिरिकेसरी विनि[9]हतो लक्ष्मीधरः क्ष्मापति-
र्यद्वाहावलिभिः प्रसह्य रुरुधे धाराधराधीश्वरः ।
बल्लालक्षितिपा[10]लपालितभुवा सर्वापहारश्च यः
श्रीसिंहस्य महीपतेर्विजयते तद्वा[11]हलीलायितम् ॥ ४४ ॥

कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रतीतौ जातौ ततः सिंहनृपस्य पौत्रौ ।
तयोस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात् कृष्णोऽतिविख्यातमतिर्नृपोऽभूत ॥ ४५ ॥

येनाकारि विशालवीसलचमूसंहारकालानलं
हेलोन्मूलितमूलराजसमरं निर्वीरमुर्वीतलम् ।
येनानेकमहाफलक्रतुकृता सम्यग्यमानोऽनिशं
[12]क्षीणः कालवशात्पुनस्तरुणतां धर्मोऽपि संप्रापितः ॥ ४६ ॥

ततः कृष्णे राजन्यमरतरुणीचामरमरु-
त्तरङ्गैरुत्तुङ्गे दिवि किमपि तेजः श्रितवति ।

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१ In the MSS. we have प्रसादमासादित॰. २ G has विकाशः for अवकाशः ३ रणरगत्तुंगदुत्तग. D 2 ४ तल्लिग in G. ५ रौद्रस्य ought to be रुद्रस्य, unless the son of Rudradeva is meant ६ कीर्तिः for मूर्तिः D 2 ७ This line is thus written in G. सीमन्तविनीदनकैरवचन्द्रभासान्, also in D 2, except त् for last न्. ८ यद्भगागिरि G. ९ विनिकृतो G. १० लालित for पालित G ११ यद्वाह॰G. १२ क्षीणेG.

परित्राता भूमेः समजनि जगज्जित्वरमहा[1]
महादेवः सेवारसिकसकलक्ष्माभृतनुतः ॥ ४७ ॥
निल्लक्क्षितिपालतूल[2]निचयप्रक्षेपचण्डानिलो
गर्जद्गूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।
हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भट-
क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ ४८ ॥
यो भोजदेवान्नृपतेः प्रतापी जग्राह बाहुं मदमन्दसत्त्वः[3] ।
सार्धं जनन्या सहजीविनेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि जहार राज्यम्[4] ॥ ४९ ॥
यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिश्च्युतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु ।
सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोऽपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कणेशः ॥ ५० ॥
सीमोल्लङ्घनमेव यस्य जगतां संहार इत्युच्यते
क्रुद्धे वज्रभृत्यपि यः क्षितिभृतं मैनाकमत्रायत ।
स्मारं स्मारममुष्य दुःसहमहःसंदोहदावानलं
तेनाम्भोनिधिनापि कुङ्कणपतिर्नाराक्षि कुक्षिस्थितः ॥ ५१ ॥
वाहानामपि यस्य वैरिविषयेष्वातन्वतां धन्विनां (तं ?)
मानिल्लिङ्गनृपाङ्गणादनुदिनं वाह्यालिलीलाभवत् ।
यस्तस्यैव रणे जहार करिणस्तत्पञ्चशब्दादिकान्
यस्तत्याज वधूवधादुपरतस्तद्भुजं रुद्रमाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

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१ This महा is omitted in the MSS. since it is followed by another महा, and the copyists mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगतो जित्वरं जगज्जित्वरम् । जगज्जित्वरं महो यस्य स जगज्जित्वरमहाः. २ चूल for तूल D 2. ३ मदमन्दसत्त्व which is also the reading of D2, as an epithet of Mahādeva, involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is, probably, मदमन्दसत्त्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva. ४ After this follow stanzas 14 and 19 of the next Praśasti in D2.

वंशो हिमांशोर्जयति प्रसिद्धो यस्मिन्स राजा यदुराविरासीत् ।
बभूव यस्मिन्नसुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारिः ॥ ३ ॥
वंशे तस्मिन्कंसविध्वंसनस्य क्षोणीपालो भिल्लमः प्रादुरासीत् ।
निन्ये नाशं वैरिभूभृत्तनूनान्यस्यानकद्वीपदीपः प्रतापः ॥ ४ ॥
नम्रीभवत्सकलराजसभाजमौलीमाणिक्यदीधितिविबोधितपादपद्मः ।
उद्दामदर्परिपुसर्पविहङ्गराजः श्रीभिल्लमादवनिपोजनि जैत्रपालः ॥ ५ ॥
तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः कीर्तेः पदं जगति सिङ्घणदेवभूपः ।
उद्दण्डदोर्[1]युगलगर्वितवैरिवर्गसीमन्तिनीवदनकैरव[2]चण्डभानुः ॥ ६ ॥
अथ सकलकलानामालयः राजनाथ क्षितितलमवतीर्णः पौर्णमासीशशीव ।
अभवदवनिपालो जैतुगिर्नाम तस्मादसमसमरधीरद्वेषिभूपालकालः ॥ ७ ॥
स भूमिपालो जनयाबभूव कृष्णं महादेवमहीपतिं च ।
हिताय लोकस्य यथा पयोधिश्चिन्तामणिं कौस्तुभमप्युदारम् ॥ ८ ॥
जन्मान्तरीयं परिवर्तयन्तौ ज्येष्ठावरत्वं किल कौतुकेन ।
कृतावतारौ यदुराजवंशे प्रीत्या पुनस्ताविव रामकृष्णौ ॥ ९ ॥
धर्मार्थाविव तौ साक्षात्पालयन्तौ वसुंधराम् ।
विलोक्य लोकः सस्मार राजानौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥ १० ॥
कृप्यद्दारुणवाजिवारणरणक्षोणीषु जित्वा बहून्
दासीकृत्य तथापरान्विहितवानन्यानरण्यौकसः ।
इत्थं पार्थिवराजराजिविजयव्यापारपारंगत-
श्चक्रे शक्रजयाय कृष्णनृपतिः स्वर्लोक[3]यात्रागतम् ॥ ११ ॥
अथ प्रभावातिशयेन लब्धं विभज्य लोकद्वितयाधिपत्यम् ।
त्रिविष्टपं शासति कृष्णभूपे भुवं महादेवनृपः प्रशास्ति ॥ १२ ॥
[4]तल्लिङ्गक्षितिपालतूलनिचय[5]प्रक्षेप[6]झञ्झानिलो
गर्जद्गूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।
हेलोन्मूलितकोङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाट[7]लाटोद्भट-
क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ १३ ॥
अयं शिशुस्त्रीशरणागतानां हन्ता महादेवनृपो न जातु ।
इत्थं [8]विनिश्चित्य ततो विभीतैरन्ध्रैः पुरन्ध्री निहिता नृपत्वे ॥ १४ ॥
अत एव हि [9]मालवेश्वरः शिशुमेव स्वपदे न्यवेशयत् ।
स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं [10]तपस्यति ॥ १५ ॥
विषमसमरकर्तुः शत्रवो यस्य [11]पाणौ
प्रलयदहनधूमश्यामधामासिभीमम् ।

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१ युगल Kh २ चन्द्रभानुः D & Kh. चण्डभानु G ३ यात्रा गत Kh ४ तल्लिंग Kh. & G. ५ प्रोत्क्षेप Kh क्षेक्षेप G ६ चण्डानिलो Kh & G ७ ०लाटोद्भवक्षोणी० Kh. ०लाटोद्भवः क्षोणी G. ८ इत्थं विनिश्चिन्तयतो विभीतैरान्ध्रैः Kh विनिश्चिन्त्य D. ९ हिमाचलेश्वरं G. १० न पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ११ पाणे Kh.

पृथुनरकरवालव्यालमालोकयन्तो
भव शरणमितीम मन्त्रमुच्चारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥
यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठ्यूतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु
सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोऽपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः[1] सह कुङ्कणेशः ॥ १७ ॥
एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुराशे[2]र्वोन्तरेऽप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि ।
चिरं विमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेश्वरो वडवमेव यातः ॥ १८ ॥
आस्ते माण्डतदण्डकापरिसरः श्रीसे[3]उणाख्यः परं
देशः पेशलवेशभूषणवचोमाधुर्यधुर्याकृतिः ।
तस्मिन्देवगिरिः पुरी विजयते त्रैलोक्यसाराश्रियां
विश्रान्तिः सुरशालिशैलशिखरस्पर्धि[4]ष्णुसौधावलिः ॥ १९ ॥
जगत्त्रयीगीतगुणप्रशस्ति शास्ता समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।
श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानीं सोऽयं महादेवनृपो बिभर्ति ॥ २० ॥
कुर्वन्विभूतिविस्तारैरेलावृत्तसमश्रियम् ।
अधितिष्ठति हेमाद्रिरिमां विबुधबान्धवः ॥ २१ ॥
सा संपत्तदिदं यशो बलमिदं सोऽयं प्रतापो महा-
नेकैकं पृथिवीभृतो भवि महादेवस्य लोकोत्तरम् ।
यस्य[5] श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमयं[6] हेमाद्रिसूरिः पुरः
प्रौढप्रातिभवर्ण्यमानविलसद्वंशो भृशं शोभते ॥ २२ ॥

इति राजप्रशस्तिः ॥

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१ सान्यैः G २ ०राशेरन्तः पुरोऽप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि D प्रयासि Kh. ३ सेवलाख्यः D सेवणाख्यः Kh The middle letter of the name in G looks somewhat like ट, but there is little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like ट by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ. ४ स्पर्धालु D ५ तस्य D 2 ६ अहं for अयं D2.

INDEXES.

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[For abbreviations &c. used in this Index, see at the end of this Index]

A

T

Besides the usual geographical and other abbreviations (such as R. = river, Mt = Mount or Mountain, K = King &c), other abbreviations used are E Cā = Early Cālukya, L Cā = Later Cālukya Rās = Rastrakūṭa The asterisk* shows that the word occurs in Sanskrit text.

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ERRATA

Minor misprints (such as those of spelling &c) are not here shown.

In the genealogy on p. 108, read 675 Ś *for* 875 (in No. 6, Dantidurga); and read Akālavarsa *for* Amoghavarsa I (in No. 12, Krsna II).

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